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IF any excuse is needed beyond the importance of the issue for addressing some plain questions to the Irish leaders, perhaps it may be found in *The Nation's* proved sympathy with a movement which seemed to us possessed of a singular hopefulness in a weary and disillusioned world. There has been nothing finer than the Irish courage, resourcefulness, and unity which brought the British Empire to terms. Is it possible that that unity is threatened by civil war, that former comrades in arms are to kill one another, that in place of the old British terror a new Irish terror is to arise? The questions seem preposterous, yet what other construction can we place on Mr. De Valera's astounding statement: "If the treaty is accepted, the Irish instead of fighting foreign soldiers will have to fight Irish soldiers belonging to an Irish government set up in Ireland." With that threat of military dictatorship against democracy go the numerous tales of interference by soldiers in the elections to the Sinn Fein convention and other acts sadly reminiscent of the Black and Tans. Doubtless neither party to the Irish dispute is without fault. In the heat of controversy issues assume exaggerated importance. The differences between De Valera and Collins are real but we cannot believe that they themselves, or the Irish, or the friends of Ireland anywhere, can allow those differences to substitute devastating civil war for the orderly Gaelic State which the treaty—at the lowest estimate of its value—makes possible. In any event it is the people not the army which must pass on the treaty. It will be the supreme catastrophe of Irish history if in their efforts to free Ireland, Irishmen should fall slaves to a military dictatorship which calls itself republican.

THE South African strike is over; the bloodshed and the organized savagery have stopped, and the men are back at work. The most active strikers are dead or in prison. The issues of the struggle are presumably to be submitted to the board of inquiry agreed to by both sides in the early days of the strike. The problems such a board would face are rooted in economic conditions beyond its control. The profit-yielding power of the mines (South Africa produces over 40 per cent of the world's supply) depends upon the purchasing power of gold. Owing to the depreciation of sterling during the last few years, as witnessed in the sterling exchange, the market price of gold, in sterling, correspondingly rose from 85s. per fine ounce at par, to over 120s. during the war. This naturally enabled even the low-grade and partly exhausted mines to continue working at a profitable margin. But, as we have recently seen, the sterling exchange has risen to about $4.40, causing a relatively sharp decline in the market price of gold. On the Rand today some seventeen mines have already closed down; thirty-nine are still working, but of these twenty-four will be working at a loss as soon as the premium on gold disappears. The seriousness of the situation is evidenced by the fact that of the 23,391 white and the 188,320 colored workers employed in all the Transvaal gold mines at the end of 1918, 10,503 whites and 81,734 colored would be thrown out of work if the low-grade mines closed down. The strikers have not denied these facts; they have simply countered with the argument that their wages are insufficient and that the wastes of competition should be eliminated through government ownership before the workers are further penalized. The settlement that has been reached is obviously nothing but a truce imposed by force.

GANDHI is in prison but by British admission the Indian Nationalist movement goes on unabated, though since his arrest the Indian people, true to his teaching, have refrained from violence. He pleaded guilty to the charge of seeking to bring about disaffection to the present government of India, but protested his devotion to the principle of non-violence. He told the judge that he recognized that so long as he did not resign his office but remained judge he had no choice but to enforce the law. The judge apologetically imposed a sentence of six years' imprisonment without hard labor—and Gandhi thanked him. This, let Americans observe, is a milder sentence than has been imposed upon our political prisoners though the offense, from a governmental standpoint, was far more serious. Indeed British dealing with disaffection in India has recently been characterized by moderation in comparison to our martial law in Haiti. But this fact does not alter the menace to civilization in the British failure to work with rather than against the new spirit which Gandhi incarnates.

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NOW that the average New Yorker is more afraid of bandits with guns than of Bolsheviks with proclamations the prospects for Larkin's release from prison are bright. Governor Miller has admitted that he has the case under consideration. A Republican governor could do worse politically than to release a man whom a Tammany judge has sentenced when that man is generally recognized as one of the makers of the new Ireland and is popular in labor circles. But as a matter of justice, not Larkin only, but Ferguson, Ruthenberg, Gitlow, Winitsky, Alonen, and Paivio should be released. Manko, the ninth victim of anti-red hysteria, is now in an insane asylum. All of them were sentenced under New York's half-forgotten criminal anarchy law not because they were guilty of any violence but because they were more or less prominent left-wing Socialists or Communists. The trials may have been legal but the conduct of them was a travesty of justice and the verdict a denial of the right of free speech. The refusal to release the men on bail pending appeal smacked of persecution. Even the grand jury which indicted the most important of them by its report of March 3, 1921, has indicated a belief that the criminal anarchy law requires two amendments to apply to Communists. It continues:

> However, it may be wise to consider whether there is need of such a law, in view of the completeness of the penal law and the broad police powers of the State and municipalities; for the repression of free speech tends directly to the embittered exaggeration of impulses which, if allowed a reasonable liberty of expression, would very largely satisfy or dissipate themselves. It also contributes to the secret spread of subtle propaganda, increasingly dangerous because of the consequent lack of proper opportunity for public debate and criticism.

IN view of the incompetence of so many of our legislatures it is pleasant to record the fact that the New York Legislature, which we have so often had to criticize for its reactionary tendencies, has concluded its session of 1922 with a record to call forth praise from such a non-partisan body as the Citizens' Union. The cloud on its record is the fact that nine of the important housing bills demanded by Samuel Untermyer on behalf of the Lockwood Committee were slaughtered at the last moment and that by brazen lobbying if not corruption. It is also true that the so-called reconstruction amendments to the Constitution which would have provided important structural changes in the State Government were defeated. But, on the other and credit side of the slate, stand such achievements as these: Commendable changes in the civil service laws; adoption of the Tolbert home-rule amendment to the Constitution (one of the most important laws enacted in years for the independence of cities from State control); the approval of the far-reaching New York Port Authority plan; a most useful recodification of the election law; legislation for carrying out the Constitutional provisions for children's courts; the appropriation of a considerable sum for maternity benefits; the creation of a State Department of Purchases; and a reorganization of the Farms and Markets Department. Whatever one may think of Governor Miller and his general viewpoint upon political questions, it is true that he has proved a capable leader and that it is thanks to him that the session was unusually short.

GENERAL PERSHING and Secretary Weeks are profoundly upset because the House appropriation subcommittee has voted to cut the army to 115,000 men and 11,000 officers. Mr. Weeks declares that he will not know how to take care of our 250 army posts if we do this dreadful thing; and the General, who had himself moved to reduce the army to 150,000 men and 12,000 officers in the hope of heading off a more drastic cut, has set forth in a column and a half interview just how this menaces our national safety. But if we look across the water we can see Great Britain in the act of cutting her home establishment to 152,000 men, exclusive of British troops in India, native Indian contingents, and colonial forces. Her entire army is to be only 215,000 men, which is certainly much smaller comparatively than ours in view of the vastness of her empire and the magnitude of her overseas garrisons. We need no further garrisons of American troops in Hawaii or the Philippines if the Four-Power Treaty and the naval disarmam ..t treaties are what they purport to be. So there are thousands to be saved there. As for 11,000 officers to 115,000 men, that is a preposterous figure, giving as it does one officer to nearly every ten men; any army so over-officered is a subject for ridicule. As a matter of fact, the War Department is hard put to it to find employment for the officers that it has. We are glad to learn that there is a movement on foot in the House itself to cut the army to 100,000, but in that case the number of officers should drop automatically to 000—one officer to every twenty enlisted men—a most liberal proportion.

PRESIDENT HARDING has done well in ordering the withdrawal of all American troops from the Rhine. They serve no American interest there, and, as various Senators have been saying, their upkeep adds to the nominal burden on Germany and to our own actual expenditures. We are aware, that the Germans would vastly prefer to have us stay and that they dread the appearance of the hated French in the Coblenz zone in which our troops, owing to their proper behavior and their excellent commander, Gen. Henry T. Allen, have lived in complete concord with the inhabitants. But the United States has no business there. This fact Mr. Harding recognized as long ago as in his Omaha speech during his campaign for the Presidency when he declared that one of his first acts would be to recall all of the American troops from the Rhine. If Senator Borah is right in asserting that France in keeping her preposterously large garrisons in Germany is actuated not by fear but by a desire to destroy Germany, we Americans must have no part in it whatever.

THERE is both ingenuity and intelligence in the plan for dealing with German reparations proposed on behalf of the British Government by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Robert Horne. He would separate the total indemnity of 135,000,000,000 gold marks into two parts, the first to equal the debt of the Allies to America, about 45,000,000,000 gold marks, and the second to comprise the remainder. Sir Robert proposes that the first part be left in abeyance, and if the United States decides to cancel the debts of the Allies, they in turn will remit the equivalent 45,000,000,000 gold marks due from Germany. Great Britain proposes also to cancel the debt due it from the other Allies, amounting to some 20,000,000,000 gold marks. The second part of the indemnity, 90,000,000,000 gold marks, could readily be met by Germany, Sir Robert thinks, and suggests an international bond issue as a means. Obviously, the success of the plan hinges wholly upon the hope that America will cancel the Allied debt. The hope is reasonable, for financial opinion is virtually unanimous that (excepting possibly Great Britain) there is no way by which the debt

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of the Allies to us ever can or ever will be paid. Far better to cancel it now—upon conditions which we can still lay down—and so assist in reestablishing world industry, than to let the question drift on until eventually repayment goes unconditionally by default. But Europe must understand that what is holding America back is the feeling that cancelation would merely free that much money for military preparations. America's price for cancelation of its debt is, and should continue to be, an ending of Europe's extravagant and menacing war preparations.

CONTINUING his fine campaign for the restoration of American principles, Senator King has submitted the following resolution [S. Res. 256], which provides the adequate and correct procedure for withdrawal from Haiti at the earliest possible moment. After reciting the facts of American occupation, the resolution proceeds:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the United States should forthwith terminate the aforesaid military occupation of Haiti, abrogate the Treaty of 1915 between the United States and Haiti under which the said occupation is maintained, and restore democratic constitutional government in Haiti; and be it further

Resolved, That in order to carry out the aforesaid purposes, the President of the United States is respectfully requested:

1. To denounce the Treaty of 1915 and the Protocol of March 28, 1917, extending said treaty, same to take effect on or before the expiration of the six months' period provided for in Paragraph 3 hereof.

2. To take all necessary and appropriate action to restore full democratic, constitutional government in Haiti, and in particular to direct the brigade commander of the United States marines in Haiti to act as follows:

Temporarily to assume on the 16th day of May, 1922, such powers and functions of government in the territory of the Republic of Haiti as are necessary to provide forthwith for the holding of free popular elections in Haiti not later than July 1, 1922, for a constituent national assembly to be composed of one member for each existing commune; to convene said assembly in meeting not later than August 1, 1922, and to vest the said assembly with the functions and powers of framing and adopting a new constitution for Haiti, and of choosing and installing in office a President and Government of Haiti.

3. Within a period of six months after the date when the President of Haiti chosen by said constituent assembly shall have notified the Government of the United States of the adoption of a constitution and of the assumption of office by the said President to withdraw all military and naval forces of the United States from the territory of the Republic of Haiti and to cause to be restored to such reconstituted Haitian Government all functions and powers of government now or hereafter exercised in Haiti by all civil or military representatives of the United States.

THIS procedure is necessary because under the existing constitution in Haiti, composed in the United States and enforced upon the Haitians, no constitutional method exists by which a successor to the presidency can be elected. The "Franklin Roosevelt Constitution," as it is now called in Haiti, contained the provision that not later than October 10 preceding an even year the President may call elections of the legislative chambers to choose his successor. President Dartiguenave failed to do this last fall under pressure from the military occupation—there has been no legislature since its dissolution in 1917 for refusal to vote the new constitution—and no election can legally be called till October, 1923. But Dartiguenave's term expires on May 15, and thus on that date the presidency will be vacated. Senator King's resolution provides the only logical, democratic, and honorable method of restoring their self-governing functions to the Haitians, and it deserves unstinted support. In this connection it is significant that the Protestant churches of America, through three committees acting jointly and representing respectively the Federal Council of Churches, the Home Missions Council, and the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, have adopted resolutions urging "that effective steps be taken at once by our Government to insure that relations between Haiti and this country be based upon full consent of a properly constituted government of the smaller nation."

MEANWHILE the very antithesis of such a policy is being worked out in Haiti under the administration of the new dictator appointed by President Harding without the advice and consent of the Senate, General John H. Russell. The administrator of the *Courrier Haitien* has been sentenced to six months at hard labor and $300 fine for printing a brief news item reporting the brutality of a Haitian gendarme, and the paper has been suppressed. Newspapers have been suppressed in Haiti before, but during the last two years, while the situation was being brought to the attention of the American people, the penalty was limited to imprisonment and fines for editors. (In the Dominican Republic *La Informacion* of Santiago and *El Cibao* of La Vega have also been suppressed.) Now, however, a new ruthlessness is inaugurated.

THE London *Morning Post,* which thinks that on the whole Russian babies had better starve than live to grow up under the influence of bolshevist propaganda; which calls Lloyd George a "Radical-Socialist" and refers to his government as a "Socialist-bureaucracy" with a "policy of furtive communism"—this same *Morning Post,* inimitable and unimitated, has discovered the grotesque horror of allowing women to sit in the House of Lords. The admission to that august and antique assemblage of Lady Rhondda, a peeress in her own right, has been enough to drive the *Post* to heights of irony and to depths of woe. "We may some day have a feminine Lord Chancellor," says the *Post* in an anguished leader. It continues:

Women, disobeying an instinct and accepting a theory, cannot break away from the traditions, the responsibilities, and the glories of their sex without paying a price which the next generation may find it hard to meet.

Lady Rhondda, who has been active in public life for many years, presumably broke away from the traditions, responsibilities, and glories of her sex sometime ago; so for her the shock will be less acute. But what of the other peeresses? And what of the next generation? What indeed!

THE appearance in a lovely edition of A. E. Housman's lovely pastoral "A Shropshire Lad" (Holt) continues—not renews—the youth of a poem which is as fresh after twenty-five years as it was when it first stole upon the world of beauty and which has all the look and color of that poetry which no custom, repetition, or antiquity can wear out. A quarter-century of imitation has perhaps for the moment dulled the shimmer of originality which once it had; it has been, indeed, the fountain-head for innumerable little brooks of verse which might seem to come from nature but which actually came from this shy source. It is not, however, the fault of a poet that he becomes a classic on the day his book appears or that during his lifetime the echoes of his music fill the air. And in time his little followers fall away, out of sight and memory, and his work assumes the eminence which it actually has. Within his range, that of the pastoral, Mr. Housman is supreme in his generation; and it is a question whether any more perfect poem has been added to the English language in forty years.

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Making Labor Pay

THE Government and the public await the impending coal strike, which almost certainly will involve both the anthracite and bituminous fields, with a calmness which is in marked contrast to the alarm attending the strike in the bituminous field in October, 1919. Then industry was booming and winter was approaching. Now industry is stagnant and spring is at hand. Secretary of Labor Davis thinks that what coal is already above ground together with coal which will be produced by the unorganized mines—blood-stained West Virginia, for instance—will avert a crisis for three months.

It is quite evident that the public is far more interested in getting coal than in doing justice. But the question of responsibility for the strike is not for that reason unimportant. Neither is it, at least as regards the bituminous field which dominates the industry, difficult to decide. The operators have so far put themselves clearly in the wrong by two definite acts: (1) by their refusal to meet the miners in the conference to which they were pledged by the terms of their last agreement; and (2) by their action in obtaining from the courts an injunction prohibiting the Federal Trade Commission from seeking the facts on which alone fair judgment in the coal controversy can be reached. On the first point the National Catholic Welfare Council and Protestants as represented by the Federal Council of Churches have spoken vigorously. Even did no "pledge of honor" exist, a refusal to confer, these churchmen declare, means a deliberate destruction of orderly government in the coal industry.

The reason for the operators' stand is fairly obvious. They feel the pressure of hard times and see a chance to take their turn at the great game of making labor pay. That is the beginning and usually the end of the wisdom of the average employer in this period of depression. It is what the textile manufacturers are trying in New England; it is what the steel trust has done remorselessly—without, by the way, restoring prosperity. It is what the railroad magnates piteously proclaim is their only hope. To be sure they talk not of making labor pay, but of "deflating labor" so that it may bear its share of the cost of readjustment. Now there is an objection to comparing the reduction of wages, which are the reward for the investment of life in the productive process, to a reduction of interest on capital, 95 per cent of which, as Mr. Sidney Reeve has recently pointed out, is composed not of wages saved but of reinvested profits, interest, dividends, and surplus. The textile strikers, for instance, assert that one of the great New Hampshire mills which declares that it cannot pay dividends without reducing wages has actually been paying at the rate of 40 per cent if the tremendous dividends in the form of shares of new stock issued within the last ten years are taken into account. But aside from this, wages are already so low as to imperil our boasted American standard of living. We have already pointed out the significance of the figures compiled by Professor Douglas and Miss Lamberson as indicating a decline in real wages since 1896. Basil Manly, formerly joint chairman of the National War Labor Board, in a more recent study published by the People's Legislative Service finds: "With the exception of a few isolated occupations that were miserably underpaid in 1900, no class or group of workers has succeeded in maintaining unimpaired the real value of their wages as measured by the buying power which they possessed in 1900." And now comes President Lewis of the mine workers with the assertion that the average annual wage of the miners in the bituminous field was only about $700 in the year 1921. In October, 1921, he declares, soft coal sold for $10.41 a ton. The cost of labor was $1.97. What becomes of the difference?

The operators refuse to let a government agency seek an answer to Mr. Lewis's question, but they deny that they are making profits. What is wrong with the industry? We are helped to answer the question by the remarkable April issue of the *Survey Graphic*, which deserves the widest circulation. Its editors, with the cooperation of the Bureau of Industrial Research and of Americans so distinguished in various fields as Charles Steinmetz and Sherwood Anderson, give a vivid picture of the basic industry upon which our whole industrial civilization depends. It is a picture of an industry which invites men to invest their lives in darkness, ugliness, and constant danger for an utterly inadequate annual wage and without guaranty of steady employment. The soft coal miners lost on the average 93 days a year for the thirty-year period ending in 1918. The industry is both highly competitive and wastefully over-developed, the annual capacity of the mines being at least 250,000,000 tons in excess of the average requirements. Waste in mining runs from 20 to 50 per cent, and the waste of competitive distribution, innumerable middlemen, and the failure to make scientific use of coal by turning its energy into electricity and utilizing its by-products at stations near the mines, is almost beyond calculation.

For these circumstances it is unfair to blame the operators as individuals. They are doing in their business what the rest of us try to do in ours. The fundamental challenge is to the way of doing business, especially where vital industries are concerned. The justification usually offered for private ownership of such a necessity as coal is pragmatic. However unfair it may seem for men to draw royalties from coal mines which they did not create or discover and to whose development they contribute no personal service, the system, we are told, works for the general good. But it cannot make that boast when in the face of all this waste its only constructive suggestion is to make labor pay. During the war the Fuel Administration, with all its mistakes, made great improvements in the scientific distribution of coal, and it kept peace with the workers. Unregulated private owners must do as much. At the very least they ought to consent to a permanent, government, fact-finding agency, accept unreservedly the principle of collective-bargaining—whatever the faults of the mine workers union it has been the chief stabilizing factor in the industry—and negotiate with the men on the basis of an annual wage, which will involve the effort to end the irregularity of employment. If not even this little forward step is taken; if factional controversy among the miners and the exhaustion of their funds, indifference and misinformation carefully implanted among consumers, give the operators the victory, the result will be a national calamity. For if the miners lose, labor in general has lost for the present its last-ditch fight against a degrading standard of living. And by passing the heaviest burden of depression to the shoulders of the workers the operators will have lost their chief incentive to abolish the waste that robs not only us but our children.

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The Illusive American Seaman

THE American seaman is like the pocket handkerchief in the magician's silk hat. Now you see him and now you don't. During the last half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth he was one of our chief sources of national pride. Sailing ships—American made, American owned, and American manned—went all over the world and more than anything else, perhaps, built our reputation for daring, resourcefulness, and hardihood. Then came the decline. The substitution of iron for wood in ship construction put Great Britain to the front as a builder, while the opening of the West turned the eyes of our youth inland instead of seaward. Adventurous spirits, looking for a chance to employ either their capital or their labor, followed the advice of Horace Greeley, and, except in the inland and the coasting trade, the American merchant marine practically ceased to exist.

Editors bemoaned this and learned articles were written on how to revive our sea power. All to no purpose. The American merchant marine, for one reason or other, refused to revive until the World War supplied an economic premium. Then, with good prices offered to builders, good freights to owners, and good wages to crews, Americans again became a formidable factor in the ocean trade of the world. All went famously until the armistice—with its post-war trade slump. Today the American merchant marine is for a second time in danger of disappearing over the horizon. Building is stagnant and it is estimated that there is much more than enough tonnage to carry the world's commerce for some years to come; cargoes are scarce, freights are low, and ship ownership is therefore unprofitable; worst of all, there is widespread unemployment among sailors, and reduced wages have to a tragic degree driven the American personnel back on shore. We say worst of all in referring to the disappearance of the American sailor because he is the soul of the enterprise. An American merchant marine without native crews is not worth raising a finger for. It becomes a mere investment of American dollars in iron hulls, and may well be allowed to survive or perish as world competition dictates. On the other hand, there is something in keeping Americans on the sea that transcends dollars and cents—that is worth an out-of-pocket expenditure.

The best, indeed the only possible, subsidy to this end is good wages. Yet after building up during the war, at much pains and expense, an American personnel for our merchant fleet the Government has since deliberately set out to shatter it. Joining in the cry for the deflation of labor, the United States Shipping Board has cut wages twice within less than a year. Last May wages for able-bodied seamen were $85 and for firemen $90 a month. Now the Shipping Board rate is officially $55 for seamen and $57.50 for firemen. Actually the going wages are far lower; seamen out of Atlantic ports are taking $30 and firemen $35. Result? According to Andrew Furuseth, president of the International Seamen's Union of America, the proportion of native Americans in our merchant marine has dropped from more than 50 per cent on December 1, 1920, to about 15 per cent, while the ratio of naturalized Americans has fallen from about 20 per cent to less than 5 per cent. It is the story that sailors used to sing as they tramped around the capstan at the end of a voyage:

Oh, the times was hard, an' the wages low,
(Leave 'r, Johnny, leave 'r!)
The voyage was long, an' the gales did blow,
(An' it's time fer us t' leave 'r!)

Meanwhile our wiseacres in Washington, with as much grasp of the situation as a boy sailing peanut shells in a bathtub, propose a subsidy that would keep American dollars at sea but leave American sailors ashore.

Even shipping men are in many instances distrustful of the proposed subsidy, although, unfortunately, few besides Robert Dollar are sufficiently public spirited to say so. Mr. E. J. McCormack of New York is quoted in the *Nautical Gazette*, however, as advocating a plan that would utilize the proposed subsidy not in doles to vessel owners but in training and maintaining a permanently employed force of men and officers to be used as crews for our ships, with a regular system of promotion, insurance, and old-age pensions. Vessel owners, he suggests, should pay 20 per cent of the wages of any crew employed, while the Government would evidently have to bear the rest of the cost. Apart from the probable large expense, this plan is open to many criticisms, but it has constructive possibilities and, above all, it embodies the sound principle that the only subvention of our merchant marine which we should for a moment consider is one which would preserve the heritage of American seamanship, and not merely pay dividends on American dollars invested in foreign-going tonnage.

Radio as a Revolutionist

THOSE who believe that revolutions are made neither by the pen nor the sword but by new inventions will find a fascinating subject for speculation in the sudden and amazing growth in the use of radio. Could Scheherazade have told her king of the things which were seen and heard at the recent Radio Convention in New York it would have seemed more marvelous than the tales that beguiled the thousand and one nights. Yet the crowds that packed the exhibition hall, like subway trains at the rush-hour, evinced curiosity but no awe when an automobile was in its every movement obedient to the will of a man who never touched it with his hand, or when an orchestra in a distant city was heard through miles of unbridged space.

The most immediately significant development is in the field of radio-telephony. Secretary Hoover has estimated that at least 600,000 and probably 1,000,000 amateurs now have some form of receiving apparatus, most of whom have acquired it within the last year. In Philadelphia and in New York it is announced that apartments are to be built equipped with apparatus for receiving radio-telephone messages, music, and the like. The desire of amateurs, not merely to receive but to send messages, has created a problem which already calls for Federal regulation of wave lengths so as to prevent interference with business messages. No one who heard at the Radio Convention the effort of various operators to tune their instruments to receive concert music which was "broadcasted" through the air could believe in the silence of the heavens. Indeed the chaos of different messages resulted, during the tuning process, in some of the weirdest sounds ever heard by mortal ears. "Broadcasting" is probably what gives the greatest interest to radio-telephony. Certain newspapers carry daily announcements of the program to be sent out by

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various stations—Westinghouse station at Newark, whose signal is WJZ, begins its program at 11 a. m. with music and the weather forecast; it ends at 10.01 p. m. with another weather forecast. During that time the listener may hear an agricultural report, shipping news, special stories for children, recitations—once we noticed on the program our old friend "Casey at the Bat"—jazz, religious music, and opera selections. This new art is creating its own literature. The *Radio Magazine* advertises a circulation of 150,000 and daily newspapers such as the New York *Mail* and *Globe* publish popular radio supplements. Poetry follows in the wake of science. There lies before us a newspaper containing the picture of "the attractive film star who is responsible for the wireless song hit 'Kiss Me by Wireless,' to be broadcasted for the first time on Thursday, March 16."

It is difficult to exaggerate what this means for men in lonely places. It will not be long before explorers can send daily bulletins of their progress. Already telephone conversation has been carried on with an ocean liner 400 miles out at sea. Smith's Four Corners is in listening distance of Broadway. Every man may build his own Utopia in contemplation of the conquests of space by sound.

But, alas, try as we will we can build no Utopia in days when there is no escape to the healing quiet of any wilderness. Think of the tragic fate of some future Thoreau who goes to his beloved woods in search of solitude only to find the night made suddenly hideous by the "famous laughing saxophone" played at station XYZ and received and amplified by equipment in possession of the Boston Boy Scouts in camp not far away! Will it be possible for any man to think for himself when the speeches of the favored spokesman of those who control the "broadcasting" stations night after night are sent out to every home? And if another war comes, which radio-telephony may make easier to bring about, radio control of the means of destruction will add immeasurably to its horrors. But these, perhaps, are the fears of a crotchety generation that is passing. Certainly they are not shared by the young men and women who make up our radio clubs. May they make better use of this new conquest over the powers of nature than we have done with some of ours.

The Victorian Legend

THE history of literature, not unlike other kinds of history, is busier establishing legends than recording truth. The historian is not, on that account, to be dismissed as a charlatan. For, especially when he is an historian of literature, he is commonly a man of strong native tastes and tendencies. The expression of these in the works of other men pleases and exhilarates him; he considers whatever is hostile to them to be negligible if not positively noxious; he suddenly finds himself combining truth with teaching, science with edification, and cannot be expected to give up a method of writing history so rich in public reward and private satisfaction.

It is the legend-building critic and historian who has established the popular notion of the Victorian age as one of intellectual triviality and timidity, as the very paradise of all the tepid virtues of a mean conformity. He is responsible for Tennyson as a thinker, Browning as a philosopher, the emphasis on Thackeray's gentlemanliness and Kingsley's manliness, for a studied coolness toward Arnold and a sincere blindness toward the works of greater men.

It is time that this false Victorian legend be shown up. It should be done for the sake of the period and its writers; it should be done in order to fortify the literature of our own period with the sense of great examples and of the continuity of the central intellectual life of mankind. What would be said of a future historian of literature who, discussing the Georgian novel, were to be grudging to Wells and Bennett and Galsworthy and the younger experimenters in form and substance and were to mark and commemorate this period of the British novel as that of A. S. M. Hutchinson and Archibald Marshall? The parallel is illuminating if not perfectly exact.

We must realize first of all that the thinking which made the Victorian period one of the major revolutionary eras in intellectual history was very sparingly expressed in verse. Nor was it expressed by those poetic stylists in prose whose books are most commonly annotated for use in college classes. It cannot be found in Tennyson or Browning, Carlyle or Ruskin. It wears a soberer though more unfading garb. It is easy to see at once, however, the shift in popular attitude and appreciation that would take place if sophomores and juniors were taught Meredith's "Modern Love" in place of "Launcelot and Elaine," and John Stuart Mill's "On Liberty" in place of "Sartor Resartus." But the point can best be made by a brief list of names and dates.

In 1857 appeared Buckle's "History of Civilization"; in 1859 "The Origin of Species" and "On Liberty." The year 1863 brought "Modern Love," 1869 Lecky's "History of European Morals," 1871 Arnold's "Friendship's Garland," the first novel of Thomas Hardy, and the first volume of a work of great and abiding value whose temper and spirit the most advanced of us would do well to emulate today—the "Miscellanies" of John Morley. Samuel Butler's "Erewhon" came in 1872 and was followed in the next year by Leslie Stephen's "Free Thinking and Plain Speaking" and by Pater's "Renaissance" with its astonishing postscript which the conventional historians of literature have been careful not to take in either the metaphysical or practical sense of its author. Nor must we forget the great 1870 volume of Rossetti containing "Jenny" nor the volumes of essays by which men like Huxley and Walter Bagehot illuminated these and the immediately succeeding years. It is clear, at all events, that these darkest years of Mid-Victorianism were years in which several terrifying revolutions of the spirit arose and prevailed.

During the eighties passion spoke again in Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's "Love Sonnets of Proteus," Gissing wrote his strongest books, George Moore published "A Mummer's Wife." Of all this stir and splendor one hears little in the schools. One hears of Henley's "Invictus," of ballads and rondeaus and triolets, and nothing of the "London Nights" of Arthur Symons with their forever memorable prologue and epilogue or of the stinging quatrains of Francis Money-Coutts. Yet all these things were and remain. The Victorian legend fades and there arises the picture of an age of all but unrivaled intellectual courage. Our young radicals are still busy discovering the truths that Mill and Morley recorded in enduring form nearly fifty years ago; our iconoclast poets will no longer be traditionless save for Whitman when they turn from the Victorian idols of the tribe to the line of development that leads from "Modern Love" to "London Nights."

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A Message to Frenchmen

By ANATOLE FRANCE

THE spirit of war has outlived the war. The state is imbued with this spirit in its conduct of affairs; our diplomatic methods have not changed since 1918. The secret of the prince is still with us. It envelops our foreign policy today with more clouds than ever, a cause of distress to inquiring minds. But they are few in number and the country, as a whole, follows docilely where it is led. It is forewarned of nothing.

The great newspapers today, as in the time when the enemy occupied part of our territory, go to the Ministry for the communiqué of the day and submit their pages to the visa of the censorship. An unintelligent Chamber lets the Government pursue its policy of force, without direction and without support. And how feeble this force is at times! We have seen the Government exercise its furious impotence against Soviet Russia. And in a stupor we now watch it disturbing all its allies by a vain display of its military power.

What folly! What blindness!

Force obtains nothing when it is pitted against the inevitable course of nature. We are no longer in the days of golden victories. The recent war has exhausted Europe. Upon the ruins of states it has raised personal fortunes which already commence to be engulfed in the downfall of the public fortune. And one may well ask oneself, as do our socialist and communist friends, if the end of the regime of capitalism is not at hand. History has shown us that war has accomplished equally astounding destructions.

Today when nations are united one with another by ties which we cannot break without enfeebling or killing them and a common spring of life circulates in their organs; today when, without our knowing it, the United States of Europe, in spite of obstacles, of suspicions, and of hates, are by the effect of an enveloping civilization more than half formed; today when, according to an excellent opinion not my own, all war is civil war; today when such is the fate of arms that the victors are not to be distinguished from the vanquished, let us repair together our ruins, and, if it be possible, let us have pity on our common weaknesses. Up to this time we have not known how to make peace. It is a difficult but necessary art, as necessary for us as for other peoples. For the mass of men its practice calls for great sacrifices of the most natural and of the most apparently legitimate aspirations. But we must cultivate this essential art. We must remake Europe. Our life depends upon it.

Away with the spirit of war!

To be sure we must demand, must obtain, due reparations. That is only justice. But let us not with puerile violence make demands for sums from a single nation which all the states of the world by emptying their coffers could not furnish.

I do not say to my fellow-countrymen: Do not hate; forget! I know poor human nature too well to address to it so futile an exhortation. I say: Be reasonable and be peaceable. Do not continue longer the experiment of brute force which destroys the one who practices it as surely as the one who is subjected to it.

Frenchmen, do not aspire to a hegemony henceforth impossible on land or sea! Do not dream of victories and conquests; do not long for the destiny of great England; it is not enviable. Let us be moderate; our existence depends upon it.

Let us reduce our effectives. Let us shorten the time of our military service. It is most necessary to save these enormous and futile expenses.

In the common distress of all nations France is perhaps the least miserable. We do not suffer from unemployment as do the English workers. If our small bourgeoisie are unhappy, they retain still a little of the great riches gained during the war, mythical riches, sustained by nothing, which may vanish any day.

Today is bearable—but tomorrow? Misery which we do not feel surrounds us. It spreads over vast territories, gaining ground every day; it approaches and threatens to submerge us. To cope with it, if that is possible, we have only one means: peace, true peace; not that to be found in pompous treaties and upon inert paper, but that which is in the hearts, the peace which will remake Europe.

For pity's sake, if we love glory, if we wish to be the first nation of the world, let it be through reason, through wisdom, through a just understanding of what is possible and what is good, through a tranquil outlook which embraces the human race; finally, according to the beautiful words of Goethe, let us be good Europeans.

[*Beginning with the next issue* The Nation *will publish a series of articles "The Opinions of Anatole France."*]

Stand with Me Here

By LOUIS UNTERMEYER

Stand with me here and listen. Close your lips.
The world is shut out by these pasture-bars.
We cannot heal our wounds; our words are whips
That flay half-opened scars.

Stand where the sun strokes the contented turf
And listen to the mumbling surf
Of bees among the buckwheat, the consoling
Silence of rocks among the rolling
Bluster of winds. Let this grave-bosomed cloud
Press through your anger till the proud
Passions that rend are crumbled down and pass
Into the humble pride of grass.
Your fire need not be smothered; you will learn
How to preserve that flame and burn
Quietly as the unaffected glow
Of partridge-berries in the snow:
Here is fulfilment. This old mullein stalk
Has more of life than all our talk;
And here, held on this windy poplar tree,
Mocking our insecurity,
Is—plain as milk and bolder than belief—
The poise and pattern of a leaf.

Open your lips again. The wordy wars
And all the aftermath of hate and fear
Are shut out by two broken pasture-bars.
Stand with me here.

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"Fiat Lux"—But No Red Rays

By ARTHUR WARNER

IT is not every day that a public speaker has the fortune to make an address in a city of nearly 200,000 inhabitants and to obtain an immediate and convincing demonstration of the truth of his words. Hence it is worth recording that this has just happened to Scott Nearing, who on March 14 spoke before the Liberal Club of Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, on The Control of Public Opinion.

The address took place in one of the university buildings, with the knowledge and consent of Dr. Wallace W. Atwood, the president. There is no established censorship of student gatherings at Clark, but when held in university buildings at night it is necessary to get the use of an assembly room in advance, for which application is made to the president as the administrative head. As one of the professors put it: "The main consideration is that the janitor is paid one dollar in advance for opening the room and turning on the lights."

Two or three hundred persons, townspeople and students, gathered for the address. A number of the faculty was present, as was Dr. G. Stanley Hall, president emeritus of the university. According to Mr. Nearing, his remarks were based largely on "The Theory of the Leisure Class" by Thorstein Veblen, a brother-in-law of Dr. Atwood. The address surprised most—and disappointed some—by what is described as its moderation, not to say obviousness. The burden of the talk was that public opinion is controlled in the interest of the moneyed and leisure classes through the agency of the schools and colleges, the churches, and the press. Mr. Nearing had been speaking for more than an hour and was drawing to a close, when Dr. Atwood entered, having come from another lecture, one arranged by his own department. The other lecture had attracted only a score or so persons and it is possible that Dr. Atwood was actuated somewhat by pique in what followed. Anyhow, after listening to Mr. Nearing for about five minutes, he advanced from the rear of the hall and mounting the platform announced: "The meeting is dismissed."

The audience sat agape with surprise and incomprehension. Nobody rose. Three times Dr. Atwood repeated his announcement before the audience, with a buzz of comment, began to disperse.

Mr. Nearing had been talking of the control of public opinion by college, church, and press. Before he had finished speaking, an exhibition of college control was thus supplied by the president of the nearest university at hand! Nor were pulpit and press much behind in giving an equally illuminating demonstration of their methods. The account of the action was barely dry on the pages of the local morning newspaper when the pastor of the Union Congregational Church, the Reverend Benjamin F. Wyland, issued a public statement indorsing Dr. Atwood. Another clergyman, the Reverend James Elvin Wagner, pastor of Trinity Church, followed in similar vein the next day. The press was busy at once with editorial paeans for the president and castigation of the students who dared to assert that as seekers after knowledge they had a right to hear any point of view that interested them. There are three newspapers in Worcester, two evening and one morning. One evening and the one morning journal are under the same ownership, with friendly links with the highly powerful National Metal Trades Association. Together these two newspapers constitute the chief publicity service of Worcester. The *Telegram* declared that among college students advocacy of "complete reconstruction of the constitutional principles of the United States has no proper place." There were places, it conceded, where ideas like those of Mr. Nearing might be expressed, "but a university established under the existing order, maintained by the existing order, benefiting by the existing order, and operating for the training of the immature of the existing order is not a fitting theater for such fulmination." The *Evening Gazette*—alluding to the fact that originally intercollegiate athletics had no place in Clark University and even now are indulged in to only a limited extent—remarked of the Nearing incident: "Baseball is much healthier and a good deal more profitable."

Outside of Worcester such editorial comment as the case provoked was more enlightened. The Boston *Herald*, while opposing the ideas of Mr. Nearing, said that Dr. Atwood had been ill-advised in stopping the lecture and had played directly into the speaker's hand. The Boston *American* called Dr. Atwood's action "undignified and impudent."

Meanwhile the vested interests themselves were not slow to come forward with their blessing. The Rotary Club of Worcester, at a luncheon meeting, extended to Dr. Atwood "hearty commendation for his patriotic stand against radical propaganda." Dr. Atwood appeared on the scene at the psychological moment, whereupon, to quote the *Evening Gazette*, the club "burst into wild cheers." Naturally the Chamber of Commerce was not to be outdone, and its general secretary (who had not heard Mr. Nearing) declared that "everyone who respects the social and economic laws will stand behind Dr. Atwood."

Now for the most remarkable and sinister part of the demonstration. Representatives of college, pulpit, and press, having taken the lead in an intellectual lynching party, did Tom, Dick, and Harry join in? They did. The man in the street, with characteristic lack of mental curiosity, took up without suspicion the hue and cry against the students who were seeking to maintain only the elementary principles of free scholarship, and three days after the Nearing episode the average citizen of Worcester was telling inquirers that Clark University was "a nest of Bolsheviks" and that the young men and women in attendance (whose New England parentage is indicated by a glance at the catalogue) comprised "a lot of dangerous foreigners." In other words, the city of Worcester not only proved how easy it is for the established order to get assistance from college, church, and press, but it showed how simply those forces can lead the average citizen around by the nose.

Now let us return to the Nearing lecture and the events thereafter on the campus as distinguished from those in town. We have an inspiring—indeed a thrilling—contrast. Dr. Atwood was approached in protest immediately after the dispersal of the meeting and was told that the spirit of free inquiry and freedom of assembly had been the almost unique tradition among the students.

"I know it!" he is stated to have exclaimed. "I am going to crush that thing with every means in my power." And he hammered his fist against the wall for emphasis.

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The campus was in a ferment that night. Unlike the town sentiment, artificially superimposed upon an uninformed citizenship, the students were alive to the facts and, searching their own minds for counsel, aligned themselves almost solidly against the university's president. They felt that he had not only committed an inexcusable breach of courtesy but had invaded their scholars' right to freedom of inquiry and discussion. The membership of the Liberal Club was tripled in three days. Every student organization in the university joined in a statement which, ignoring the Nearing episode as such and assuming the broad ground of academic independence, declared:

1. We do not advocate socialism, bolshevism, communism, or anarchism.

2. We do believe in the incontrovertible right and duty of educators, educational institutions, and most especially institutions of higher learning, to teach, to discuss and announce the truth in whatever form it may appear, wholly free from coercion by any influence of special interest or insidious propaganda.

3. Most pertinent to the present local situation, we believe that the issue is not bound up with support of socialistic or anarchistic doctrines. To such doctrines we do not subscribe.

4. We do believe that Clark University ceases to exist as an institution of higher learning when it is deprived of those peculiarly characteristic principles enunciated by its benefactor and founder, Jonas Gilman Clark, and carefully nurtured by its former president, G. Stanley Hall, throughout its previous existence.

5. These principles are that there shall never be any abridgment of the inalienable right of self-expression within the environs of the university; that, in the words of the founder which we believe to be peculiarly relevant to the situation, " . . . its doors may be ever open to all classes and persons whatsoever may be their religious faith or political sympathies, or to whatever creed, sect, or party they may belong."

The quotation in the last paragraph is from the will of the university's founder, and, if permission is refused in future for an address on the campus by a man like Mr. Nearing, it has been suggested among the students that the courts be asked for a mandamus to carry out the intentions of Jonas Gilman Clark. Whether successful or not, the proceeding would serve a fine purpose in presenting before an indifferent and befuddled public the attitude of the students.

The sharp difference of opinion between town and gown has produced some sparks. When Dr. Atwood was commended by the pastor of the Union Congregational Church, a concert which was to have been given there by the university glee club was canceled, while two students who were scout-masters for boys of the congregation resigned. Most of the students are nevertheless regretful and perplexed to find themselves the victims of herd opinion stirred up for the protection of the powers that be. If they continue the fight—as is fervently to be hoped—they will find that there is more to come; they will not improbably discover themselves held up to scorn as believers in the nationalization of women and the drowning of all children under two years of age.

"This controversy is just a little family affair," Dr. Atwood is quoted as saying the day after the lecture, and he is doubtless both puzzled and displeased at its subsequent ramifications. Asked for an explanation of his attitude, he made the following statement in writing for use in *The Nation:*

When I first heard that Mr. Nearing was coming to the university the arrangements were all made. I disapproved in no uncertain terms but I did not insist that the meeting be called off. I closed the meeting because there were so many of our undergraduate students present. I naturally feel a responsibility for the educational influences within the halls of the university, and I would not be responsible for their hearing any further statements such as were being made by the speaker. I have always stood for freedom of speech. An open forum where all kinds of ideas may be aired may serve a very useful purpose in our society, but I am certain that a university should not be conducted on that basis. We cannot in a university depend upon the chance lecturers who may be available, especially upon those that groups of students may choose to select and call to the university. I believe in absolute academic freedom within a university, but that question is not at issue in connection with this incident.

The faculty of Clark University is probably not as single-minded in regard to the controversy as the students, and naturally it is less outspoken. It is significant, however, that directly after the interruption of Mr. Nearing's remarks Professor Haven D. Brackett of the Greek department went forward and, shaking hands with the speaker, said (in the hearing of Dr. Atwood) that he was ashamed to admit that he was a member of the faculty. Professors Frank H. Hankins (sociology), Harry E. Barnes (history), and Edwin G. Boring (experimental psychology) have also openly aligned themselves with the students in the demand for an unmuzzled intellectual life. The only member of the faculty to voice publicly his approval of the president's action has been Preston E. James, whose impartiality is somewhat tarnished by the fact that he is an instructor under Dr. Atwood in the geography department.

Above all else in the minds of the faculty is the meaning of the episode for freedom of teaching at Clark, where previous tradition has given a high degree of independence. Clark University, it will be recalled, was originally devoted exclusively to graduate work. An undergraduate department was added later, and Dr. Atwood was called less than two years ago when it was decided to consolidate the two schools under a single administrative head. He is generally regarded as the business-man type of college president in contrast to the scholar as typified by Dr. G. Stanley Hall, his predecessor. As a teacher, Dr. Atwood's province is geography. He is part author of an elementary geography of which upward of a million copies have been sold, and it is said that the chief influence in bringing him to Clark University was a member of the board of trustees who by one of those odd chances that illuminate American life happens also to have a prominent position in the publishing firm that handles Dr. Atwood's book.

Finally—Clark University needs money and is about to begin a campaign to obtain it. There are many persons of wealth in and around Worcester who might look with favor upon a conservative institution headed by a safe president. It would perhaps be unfair to suggest this as a possible motive for the Nearing interruption had it not been suggested by Mr. James (the instructor previously mentioned as the one member of the faculty publicly to support the president). Mr. James said warningly that Harvard University had lost $1,000,000 in endowment through having had on its faculty Harold J. Laski. If such speakers as Mr. Nearing were tolerated, Clark University might suffer similar consequences!

"Fiat lux," says the seal of Clark University. "The meeting is dismissed," says its new president, and by implication adds: "Let there be light, but not too much, and by no means any rays from the red end of the spectrum." Scott Nearing, recalling what he said at Worcester and its illuminating sequences, is surely entitled to conclude: "Quod erat demonstrandum."

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American Labor's Political Strategy—A Failure

By GEORGE P. WEST

THIS will be an attempt to show that many recent developments adversely affecting the labor movement in the United States, and so the welfare of the common man and the status of human freedom, are largely traceable to what may be called the wheedling policy of the American Federation of Labor. And it will be an attempt to show the need of a labor party, not by emphasizing the affirmative advantages of a thoroughgoing political program like that of the British party, but by pointing out certain evils in the American labor movement which a labor party would correct.

By wheedling is meant the traditional and still dominant policy by which the labor movement encourages its representatives to seek places of influence in the city, State, and National councils of the Republican and Democratic parties, for the purpose of trading labor support for as much or as little as they can get out of politicians whose final allegiance is avowedly to other interests, and more particularly to the vital interests of the business community. It is a policy that began when America was not an industrial nation and when the great majority of even its urban population wanted nothing they could not get through one or the other of the two big parties. It was the resource of relatively small groups of skilled workmen who wanted very specific things for themselves, and who set about getting them by log-rolling with other men who knew what they wanted. These others were typically the political agents of privileged business men. They yielded grudgingly along lines that led to substantial gains for labor and for the public, but always in directions recognized by their wisest at the time (and soon thereafter by their stupidest) as entirely parallel with their own interests. They yielded always as the price that had to be paid for keeping the labor movement "on the inside" of a politico-economic organization that existed to conserve and extend their privileges. Thus the Democratic Party that pleased Mr. Gompers by incorporating some of his labor planks in its platform was the same party that later rested heavily on Mr. Gompers's acquiescence and even his active support in perpetrating crime after crime against the liberty and the economic welfare of the common man.

What it amounts to is that labor leaders have been led further and further into a sort of whispering backstairs alliance with the political agents of the business community, until today their all is staked on it and they are under the necessity of guarding their speech and conduct with as much care as so many bank clerks lest their Republican and Democratic friends at Washington and in the various State capitals and city halls cast them off entirely. Meanwhile the favors wheedled from one set of politicians have been snatched away by another. The Clayton Act, held out to labor as a splendid victory, gained by goodness knows how many bendings of labor's knee in the lobbies of Congress, turns out to be worth exactly nothing in controlling the aggression of United States district attorneys and modifying the decisions of the Judge A. B. Andersons who abound on the Federal bench. Noble old Andrew Furuseth spends twenty years or more in the lobbies of Washington, and finally gets his Seamen's Act, only to see it emasculated by administrative bureaus. And in the face of this, and because his head is in the noose of the wheedling policy, because he has staked so much on the favor of Democratic and Republican politicians, he must hurry to San Francisco to denounce radical sailors and expel them from the union, while his lieutenants support him with policemen's clubs and implied threats of prosecution under the criminal syndicalism law!

"I am trying," he says in extenuation, "to save the seamen from being branded by the I. W. W. brand," although all that these particular sailors have in common with the I. W. W. is the vision of a better world and a belief in industrial unionism, to be achieved through waterfront federations with other A. F. of L. unions. Nothing could show more clearly or more tragically the stultifying effect of the wheedling policy than the spectacle of a man like Furuseth sacrificing fundamental principles of human freedom in order to maintain his standing, and the standing of American seamen, with a lot of six-for-a-quarter politicians in Washington—politicians who have demonstrated again and again that when the showdown comes they will be found on the other side.

Yet this same Andrew Furuseth is the magnificent exception among American labor leaders. He is one of the very few conspicuous national leaders who have survived the wheedling policy with any credit at all. American labor needs to stand on its own feet politically because only so can its thousands of leaders be rescued from the stews of what we call "practical politics" and placed in an environment and under a discipline that will at least permit, if it does not encourage, the exercise of integrity and zeal. Labor politics are not disreputable in this country because labor leaders reflect the sins and weaknesses of their followers. They are disreputable because a labor leader is removed from his fellows as soon as he emerges from the ranks and sucked into politics where his companions are the cynical political agents of every sort of privilege from bootlegging to banking—the politics, that is, of his local Democratic or Republican machine. The young wage-earner first elected to union office is typically ardent, sincere, simple-minded. (Where he is not it is because men of that type have been repelled by their first glimpse and smell of what wheedling means.) His initiation into "practical politics" is sanctioned and even demanded by the policy of the American Federation of Labor and his descent is made easy by the rationalizing reflection that "labor" will have a friend at court. The archetype here is Mr. Gompers himself, who very sincerely makes a complete identification between the interests of labor and the seat at the speakers' table habitually assigned to him by men who appreciate his complaisance.

But what Mr. Gompers does at Washington with enormous dignity and without scandal is done disreputably elsewhere. A union official who would not dare buy a hat without the union label is entirely free to support for Congressman or Governor or Mayor a man who has been all his life notoriously a jackal for anti-social interests. And he very often does. To abandon the general for the particular here would seem wanton and malicious, it is all so common and notorious, so much a matter of course. The most flagrant

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example that comes to mind is that of Mr. Frank Feeney, of Philadelphia, who controlled the local labor movement for years in the interests of the Penrose-McNichol machine and worked under Senator Penrose's personal direction in the 1916 campaign to garner labor indorsements for Mr. Hughes. It was Mr. Feeney's influence that obtained an appropriation of $25,000 by the city council for the entertainment of the American Federation of Labor convention when it met there nine years ago.

The formation of a Farmer-Labor Party by the Chicago group in 1920 stirred Mr. Gompers to a publicity campaign in support of the wheedling policy, and several statements were issued proclaiming a nation-wide drive to concentrate labor's voting strength behind "friends of labor." Nothing came of it and labor support was as badly scattered as ever between candidates who happened to belong to the same Republican or Democratic organization as the various local labor leaders. Mr. Gompers does not pretend to discipline labor leaders who prostitute their political influence in the service of privilege. The Federation gives him no such authority. He has specifically disclaimed it. Only a separate political arm could assume and exercise it. It is an authority that Mr. Gompers would be the last to urge. Little will be said of the Gompers hierarchy here, because so much has been said already, while we have somewhat neglected the effect of his policy on the thousands of humbler leaders throughout the country who *are* the effective labor movement. Yet a full inquiry has still to be made into the price paid by the American Federation of Labor for its cooperation with the Wilson Administration during the war.

Mr. Gompers's position in those years was the apogee of the wheedling policy. In return for a vast amount of government patronage that permitted him to reward faithful labor leaders and to win the support of others who had previously been critical of his policies, he gave the Federation's tacit acquiescence or active support to a long list of betrayals from the earlier violations of civil liberties to the iniquities of the Treaty of Versailles, which the Federation under his lash officially indorsed. But Mr. Gompers remained satisfied with his bargain until the end. And in 1920 his Executive Council disclosed the furthest limits of their wheedling intention when they issued a statement urging the appointment by President Harding of a tried and true unionist as Secretary of Labor. The Federation thus affirmed its lack of any program or set of principles that would prevent it from participating, through one of its favorites in the Cabinet, in a reactionary Republican administration.

A labor movement that trims its political ideas to the measure of Democratic and Republican politicians cannot be expected to keep its freedom of action in the purely industrial field. Its endless compromising tends to inhibit action as well as thought. There is no way of measuring the influence of a wheedling political policy on the industrial strategy of organized labor during recent years. But it must have been profound. Limits are set not only to what can be done without offending conservative political allies but to what labor leaders themselves will consider desirable after years of companionship with Republican and Democratic politicians. Mr. Gompers and his associates not only supported Mr. Wilson through thick and thin and turned down the Plumb plan; they ran away from the steel strike of 1919 as far as they dared. We have seen how Andrew Furuseth deemed it necessary to excommunicate sailors who believed in industrial unionism lest the cause of the seamen suffer at Washington. In many places and in many unions the issue of industrial unionism is being met in the same way for the same reason—the labor movement must be kept respectable as respectability is understood by Republican and Democratic politicians. Its leaders must repudiate every idea and every proposal that is not understood and approved at Washington. And that means nearly all of the creative ideas abroad in the world today. Labor's contribution to current politics, even to current thought, is limited very nearly to the things that Mr. Gompers can get into a Democratic platform or at the farthest to the things that he hopes to get in next time.

We are often reminded by defenders of the Gompers faith that the labor movement is still too weak to stand alone in the political field. But it does not face that alternative. There are in America today millions of bewildered and dissatisfied men and women who look in vain for a leader, an organization, a road, by which they can rescue themselves from a wasteful, unjust economic regime and a subservient, intimidated politics. In England men similarly situated have joined hands with the Labor Party because labor has established a community of interest between it and the common man, between it and the public welfare. In America labor's power, however limited, is seen primarily as the power of privileged trades-union politicians, and is resented not only by the Judge Garys but by the clerk and the stenographer and the farmer and all that vast number of men and women who are neither capitalists nor wage-earners, and whose voice is potentially decisive. They could be won to a large measure of cooperation.

But success at the polls should be a remote consideration here. American labor requires some such thoroughgoing program as that of the British Labor Party, primarily for the rescue of its own leaders from sterile and corrupt politics and the salvation of its own independence and self-respect. Incidentally, by presenting them with such a program, it would demonstrate its good-will to millions of men and women who are its natural allies and whose cooperation would take the place of the grudging, unreliable, backstairs friendship of the men who dominate the two old parties. As for the immediate present, it is doubtful if labor would thus sacrifice a single advantage. The Department of Labor may justly be considered as the capstone of what has been called here the wheedling policy. Staffed largely by unionists, existing as labor's "sphere of influence" in the Government, it corresponds to numerous State and city boards and departments in which labor's influence takes effect. Much of its work represents the intelligence and conscience of the general community, as organized and led by liberals outside of the labor movement. For the rest, which is considerable, labor's gains represent the favorable reaction of the general public to labor's initiative. That reaction would be no weaker if labor were to relinquish every questionable privilege involving compromise and take its stand on a program of social reconstruction broad enough to enlist the support of every humane and intelligent man. It is reasonable to suppose that the Administration would be more zealous to disarm the opposition of a free and self-respecting labor movement thus making its challenge than to grant favors to a labor movement neatly "taken care of" by the presence of one of its hierarchs at the Cabinet table.

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The Passing of the Mantilla

By AGNES DE LIMA

THE tradition of the "lady" still survives in Mexico in spite of revolutions and the inroads of modern industrialism. But the changing attitude toward women that has brought educational and political equality in the United States is already making itself felt in the country of the mantilla. Already the schools of medicine and law of the National University of Mexico admit women, and the laws of the land accord them certain advantages still not universally granted in free America. Divorce is obtainable promptly upon due notice by both parties, and is easy to secure even if only one partner wishes it. The labor provisions of the Constitution of 1917 are worth the careful perusal of Americans who assume too lightly that Mexico is a backward country. In Mexico eight hours is declared the maximum limit of a day's work, and no woman may work overtime. Nor is the disgrace of night work by women tolerated in industrial concerns, as it is in thirty-six of our own States. The law further provides:

> During the three months immediately preceding childbirth, women shall not perform any work requiring considerable physical effort. During the month following childbirth, they shall enjoy a rest with their wages or salary paid in full, and retaining their employment and the rights they may have acquired under their contracts. During lactation, they will enjoy two daily extraordinary periods of rest of one-half hour each in order to nurse their children.

Moreover, continues the Mexican Constitution, "the same wage must be paid for the same work, regardless of sex or nationality," and "this wage must be sufficient, taking into consideration the conditions prevailing in the respective region of the country, to supply the normal needs of life of the workman, his education and his lawful pleasures, considered as the head of a family."

Perhaps it may be said that the further we get from the delicate ladies of the upper classes in Mexico, the nearer we arrive at real equality between the sexes. Already women workers are taking an active part in labor organization. The women employed in El Buen Tono, the cigarette trust, some time ago led the men in declaring a strike to force the reemployment of the secretary of the union, discharged for his official activities. Under Carranza, the school-teachers, driven to desperation by the failure of the Government to pay their salaries, went on strike. He shamefully defeated them by the use of the fire hose and the treason act, but the germs of organization remain.

The most articulate among the "feminists" of Yucatan, who as a part of the Socialist Party number 22,000 dues-paying members, are the sturdy lower-class Indian women. They recently sent a petition to Obregon demanding the vote, and they have figured vividly in the feminist congresses held there since 1916. It was from these women that J. D. Ramirez Garrido—who worked with Alvarado in Yucatan and is one of Mexico's most widely known Socialists—derived the inspiration for his ardent book on feminism, "Al Margen del Feminismo," in which he depicts the slavery of women from time immemorial and makes an earnest plea for their political and social emancipation. Garrido is a picturesque figure. As chief of police under De la Huerta, one of his early acts was to appoint a young woman, Elena Torres, treasurer of the Communist Party, to the position of secretary of the Secret Service Department and at the same time to require her to work with the local Feminist Council in spreading propaganda about feminism and measures to help women and children. This organizer of the feminist movement of Mexico is a handsome, soldierly young fellow, with curling mustachios and a face lit with idealism. He told me that for the most part the women of the upper classes in Mexico still clung to their chains and were deaf to propaganda, but that the time was not far distant when they, too, must be affected by the world-wide movement for liberation.

The Feminist Council which Garrido sponsors is evidence that the movement for freedom has at least reached the point of organization. The office is bare and the membership embryonic, but the Council does not lack purpose and ambition. I read over its list of demands on society. They show perhaps the undue influence of some northern feminist guiding hand, but Mexico has often fashioned constitutions, laws, and programs in advance of popular demand with the expectation of educating the public up to them. Mexico's public then must soon learn that the women are demanding:

1. Economic Emancipation in the following ways: Equal pay for equal work; a fixed day's work, with proportional rest; salaries based on the woman as head of a family, and in relation to the cost of living; hygienic and sanitary conditions in the workshop; strict compliance with the provisions of the labor law relating to women, such as double pay for over-time, compensation and rest for women one month before and one month after childbirth, special rules for mothers; access to occupations and superior positions now reserved for men, always on condition that women filling them possess adequate skill and aptitude; establishment of special commissions composed equally of men and women to investigate and make decisions upon industrial problems and difficulties; organization of women's unions within industries.

2. Social Emancipation: Organization of liberal societies both among intellectuals and industrial workers to keep women in touch with new ideas and progressive movements; organization of physical culture and recreation clubs; abolition of the segregated district and regeneration of its inhabitants, studying adequate methods for so doing, and requiring a single moral standard for men and women; organization of a woman's court, legally constituted, to try and fix penalties for juvenile delinquents; supervision of institutions for recluses through special commissions made up of women; protection of abandoned children and means of combating vagrancy and mendicancy; establishment of dormitories and restaurants where working women may obtain bed and food at reduced rates; establishment of free employment offices to help women in search of work.

3. Civic Improvement: Inspection of neighborhoods, public baths, and popular amusement centers; cleaning of streets; promotion of industrial schools and women's exchanges, where women may obtain best prices for things made at home—paintings, needlework, etc.; establishment of day nurseries to care for children of working women; work for the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic beverages.

4. Political Emancipation: Equal political rights for men and women; affirmation of the rights to citizenship conceded in the Constitution, and amplification of them; free access to all posts through popular election or appointment whenever women have the necessary qualifications; reform of the provisions of the civil code and Constitution, and the rights of citizenship of women; perfect equality of laws relating to women in regard to their right to own property and to administer it, either when married or divorced; propaganda in unison with women of all the world to abolish war and militarism and to assure the right

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of small peoples to live in peace, harmony, and complete liberty; work for the union of Latin America as a means of solidarity and mutual protection of those countries.

Besides propaganda through leaflets and bulletins the Feminist Council is offering classes in reading and recitation, grammar and spelling, English, arithmetic and bookkeeping, typewriting and stenography, and is aiming to become an educational center of women's activities.

The progress of feminism in Mexico will necessarily be slow. Except for the handful of women at Council headquarters, I met not one Mexican woman who was in favor of so elementary a reform as woman suffrage, though I talked to university and normal school teachers and women who had been self-supporting for years. The "lady" as an institution still persists. Even the champion of feminism, Señor Garrido, makes an amusing slip or two in his book. He is describing the great feminist congress of 1916. He tells how eagerly the women came together, and how sincerely they strove to convince one another of the great things they had on their minds. But he betrays himself by adding: "The kisses hidden in their lips were put courteously to one side to give room to burning words of conviction, and the idyllic conceptions contained within their shawled heads were forgotten in their search for light on points under discussion. The result was," he naively adds, "that they came to the fundamental conclusion that it is necessary to educate women equally with men, opening to them all the doors of human knowledge, and giving them place in the councils of government."

In the Driftway

THE New York subway, the Drifter learns, will shortly be less crowded—in the non-rush hours; and the cause of this reform is that certain official photographers solemnly produced pictures to show that overcrowding exists during rush hours! Which somehow recalls the conclusion of the Drifter's friend Charlie the porter that the moon is of more use than the sun because the sun shines in the daytime when it is light anyway, whereas the moon contributes light at a time when it would otherwise be dark. And these remarks are merely preliminary to saying that the Drifter prefers the Elevated as offering slightly more space and infinitely more adventure per trip per person.

* * * * *

HE sat, the other morning, next to a dignified and portly business man who had just finished reading the morning paper. Next to him in turn was an extremely portly lady who had not been long in America, judging by her ruddy health, the shawl over her head, the large, curiously wrought gold ring on her right middle finger, and by the air of friendliness and curiosity with which she looked about her. She smiled at the dignified business man, but he was not to be won so easily. Then she leaned far across him and tapped the new brief case on the Drifter's lap. "Where you get him?" she asked. The Drifter named a store in the vicinity of Thirty-fourth Street. "How much you pay?" she further demanded. The Drifter, much to the disgust of the dignified business man, confessed that the brief case had been bought for the modest sum of three and a half dollars. "Huh," his questioner replied scornfully, "my daughter she get one with not two but three pockets, and pay only two ninety-five!"

CAN such things happen in the subway? the Drifter asks and points in reply to the official photographs of subway crowds. The only chance for adventure in the subway, apparently, is the various ways of "beating" the featherweight gates. The Drifter, whenever occasion demanded, has dutifully inserted his nickel and pushed his way in. Not so some of his acquaintances. He learns that two fairly thin persons can go through the gate for the price of one; that certain foreign coins worth considerably less than five cents can be substituted for the required nickel; that—but he pauses for fear of corrupting his readers. After all, such lawlessness has no place in a decent family magazine!

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Ray Stannard Baker's Misrepresentations

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Regarding your recent editorial criticism of Ray Stannard Baker's attempt to prove that the secret treaties were not known to President Wilson or the State Department, I wish to say of my own personal knowledge:

1. That documents relating to them passed through Colonel House's hands previous to the drafting of the Fourteen Points at the end of December, 1917.

2. That certain of these points—notably the one relating to France—is unintelligible without reference to the secret treaty between France and Russia.

3. That Secretary Lansing knew about the Pacific treaty in the spring of 1918, because I was one of a number of the men who sat with him in front of a map showing the partition and heard him discuss the effect on America's strategic position in the Pacific.

Mr. Baker knows these facts because I explained them to him before his articles were published.

New York, March 21 WALTER LIPPMANN

One Chamber of Commerce to Another

THE following letter, sent on the letterhead of the *Chamber of Commerce and State Manufacturers Journal*, C. F. Miller, editor and publisher, Board of Trade Building, Scranton, Pa., has been forwarded to *The Nation*. Accompanying it is a broadside with a photograph of the lecturer and comments on his talks by various newspapers and officials of organizations.

Mr. —— —. ——,
Chamber of Commerce,
——, ——.

DEAR SIR: Mr. —— —. ——, a former leading Socialist of Milwaukee, has recently returned from Soviet Russia, where he made a first-hand study of bolshevism, a study which converted him from a Socialist into a 100-per-cent American.

Mr. ——'s story is a thrilling one. His knowledge of political economy and his ability as an orator drive his message home to all who hear him. In Russia he was arrested and was rescued by the American Red Cross, forty-eight hours before the time set for his execution as an American spy. His Socialist connections gained him the confidence of the Soviets, and he was permitted to see the inner workings of that body with all its attendant starvation, oppression, confiscation, tyranny, and death. The breakdown of industry, the killing of private initiative and incentive as a result of communistic form of government are graphically described by Mr. ——.

The inclosed testimonials will give you an idea of the manner in which Mr. ——'s message is being received by the business men of the nation. His work has the indorsement of such companies as the United States Steel Corporation, W. R. Grace & Company, the School Board of New York, various Rotary Clubs and Chambers of Commerce. His testimony before the foreign relations commit-

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tees of United States Congress was a factor in shaping the policies of the United States against recognition of Soviet Russia.

He will for the next few months hold himself open to lecture engagements for a compensation based entirely on your judgment, plus expenses from New York. Should you desire to have him address your organization, will you please write me at once, suggesting a tentative date, so that we will be able to arrange lectures in different cities.

I have heard Mr. —— several times and can assure you that I have never heard a more interesting or important address. He came to Scranton to address our Board of Trade, of which I am a director, and within three weeks had been called back to address in turn the Kiwanis Club, the Scranton Club, and the Young Men's Hebrew Association, a record never equaled here by a lecturer. I might also mention the fact that the United States Steel Corporation distributed 5,000 copies of his lectures among its employees.

May I hear from you as soon as possible in this matter?

Very truly yours,

Scranton, Pa., March 10 C. F. MILLER

Repeal the [N. Y.] State Income Tax

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The present legislature could not only popularize itself and begin to solve the housing question, but immortalize itself by repealing the State income tax. The United States income tax which asks our unreserved confidence is enough to endear our country to us; we don't need such billets-doux from our State.

The income tax bears unequally even upon the rich. It takes from the earnings of professional men and from capital actively employed by its owners, but neglects unproductive real estate which is rising in value through the improvements of the locality in which it is situated. Hence it is a penalty upon industry and enterprise and a premium upon apathetic indolence. The man who invests his capital in undertakings which give employment to his fellow-men and benefits the whole community is punished by a fine of a part of his earnings, while he who merely waits upon time and reaps the reward of the labor of others escapes.

New York, March 15 BOLTON HALL

The Amenities of Hostile General Staffs

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am inclosing herewith a quotation from page 128 of the second volume of a book by Jean de Pierrefeu, G. Q. G., Secteur I, "Trois Ans au Grand Quartier Général, par le Rédacteur du Communiqué." If you have the book itself at hand you will see that the description deals with an attack by the Germans on March 22, 1918. At this time General Pétain was learning that the Germans had bitten deep into the English lines and pushed back Gough's division. The French General Staff was in Compiègne in the palace made famous by many festivities in honor of Napoleon III and the Empress Eugenie. What's striking in this passage is the definite statement that the Germans were sparing the General Staff by a Middle-Age chivalric respect for the leaders of the other side. I am sure no careful reader of this passage will be surprised if I find in it a suggestion that perhaps the French were doing the same thing for the German Staff. Now if the thought should get abroad in the armies of the two belligerents in the next war that the General Staffs were very carefully protecting each other from attack—sending only enough aeroplanes into the neighborhood to keep the plain soldiers fooled—then it is to be feared that some day the privates and corporals and sergeants and lieutenants and captains and majors and colonels will refuse to expose themselves to real attacks while the Pétains and Ludendorffs are sitting safely with their staffs in the finest palaces that can be provided. In the interest of future wars and of obedience to their leaders by the plain people this book should be carefully reedited and this passage deleted.

Baton Rouge, Louisiana, March 8 CHAS. H. STUMBERG

Translation of passage on page 128 by Jean de Pierrefeu. From vol. II, G. Q. G., Secteur I, "Trois Ans au Grand Quartier Général, par le Rédacteur du Communiqué."

The enemy [the Germans], having decided to win the war at any price, might very well have directed a great raid against the General Staff. A hundred aeroplanes with this mission were capable of destroying it and of putting the commanding authorities in a disagreeable situation at the height of the battle. It is even strange that the Germans, forced to choose between victory and ruin, did not, under the circumstances, use this means, which they could surely have made effective and which would have added one chance more to those which they had in this offensive. But, by a strange respect for war as a game and quite in keeping with the notion of high regard for authority deep-rooted in this country whose national industry is war to this very day, the General Staff was always spared. Clearly, the palace [where the General Staff was housed] was respected while the bombs rained all around.

This Speaks for Itself

Passport Division,
State Department,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: We are informed that Feodor Chaliapin was admitted to this country only on condition that he would not sing at any concerts given for the benefit of the Russian famine sufferers. The statement seems incredible but those who make it are very positive that they are right. Would you be good enough to tell us the facts in the case?

New York, January 6 LEWIS S. GANNETT,
Associate Editor, *The Nation*

MR. LEWIS S. GANNETT:

SIR: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of January 6, 1922, addressed to the State Department, in which you request to be informed whether Feodor Chaliapin was admitted to this country only on condition that he would not sing at any concerts given for the benefit of the Russian famine sufferers.

In reply you are informed that at the time the application for this visa was under consideration any relief activities for aid in Russia, so far as such activities had the sanction of this Government, were restricted to the American Relief Administration. This was deemed necessary in order to accomplish certain definite results. This restriction has since been removed and representatives of various relief organizations are now aiding in relief for Russia.

Washington, February 4 J. P. DOUGHTEN,
Acting Chief, Visa Office

MR. J. P. DOUGHTEN:

SIR: Thank you for your letter of February 4. I am afraid I am not yet clear as to the answer to my question: Was the condition that he should not sing at concerts for the benefit of the Russian famine sufferers made when Feodor Chaliapin was admitted to this country? Your letter seems to imply that it was, but the answer is not explicit.

New York, February 7 LEWIS S. GANNETT

MR. LEWIS S. GANNETT:

SIR: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 7, 1922, in which you repeat the question contained in your letter of January 6, 1922, concerning the alleged conditions under which Feodor Chaliapin was permitted to come to this country.

In reply you are informed that the information contained in visa applications and all correspondence relating thereto is of a confidential nature and may not be furnished to private individuals.

Washington, February 11 J. P. DOUGHTEN

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The Roving Critic

MARY AUSTIN having recently been rediscovered by New York, as she may be said to have been discovered about once in seven years for two decades, the occasion is furnished for a general comment upon her work. Criticism perceives in it the certain signs of a power which, for reasons not entirely clear, has as yet failed to express itself completely in forms of art. Mrs. Austin herself prefers less to be judged by any of her numerous books than to be regarded as a figure laboring somewhat anonymously toward the development of a national culture founded at all points on national realities. Behind this preference is a personal experience which must be taken into account in any analysis of her achievement. Born in Illinois, she went at twenty to California, to live between the Sierra Nevada and the Mohave Desert. There she was soon spiritually acclimated to the wilderness, studied among the Indians the modes of aboriginal life, and in time came to bear the relation almost of a prophetess to the people among whom she lived. Her first book, "The Land of Little Rain," interpreted the desert chiefly as landscape. Since then she has, it may be said, employed the desert as a measure of life, constantly bringing from it a sense for the primal springs of existence into all her comment upon human affairs. "The Man Jesus" examines the career of a desert-dweller who preached a desert-wisdom to a confused world. Her play "The Arrow Maker" exhibits the behavior and fortunes of a desert-seeress among her own people. "Love and the Soul-Maker" anatomizes love as a primal force struggling with and through civilization. From Paiute and Shoshone medicine men, the only poets Mrs. Austin knew during her formative years, she acquired that grounding in basic rhythms which led her to write free verse years before it became the fashion in sophisticated circles and persuaded her that American poetry cannot afford to overlook the experiments and successes of the first American poets in fitting expression to the actual conditions of the continent.

It has been of course a regular tradition among novelists in the United States to weigh the "settlements" in a balance and to represent them as lacking the hardy virtues of the backwoods. Mrs. Austin goes beyond this naive process. Whether she deals with the actual frontier—as in "Isidro" or "Lost Borders" or "The Ford"—or with more crowded, more complex regions—as in "The Woman of Genius" or "26 Jayne Street"—she keeps her particular frontier in mind not as an entity or a dogma but as a symbol of the sources of human life and society. She creates, it seems, out of depths of reflection and out of something even deeper than reflection. She has observed the unconscious instincts of the individual and the long memories of the race. The effect upon her novels of such methods has been to widen their sympathies and to warm and lift their style; it has also been to render them sometimes defective in structure and sometimes obscure in meaning. If they are not glib, neither are they always clean-cut or direct. Along with her generous intelligence she has a good deal of the stubborn wilfulness of genius, and she has never achieved a quite satisfactory fusion of the two qualities. She wears something like the sibyl's robes and speaks with something like the sibyl's strong accents, but the cool, hard discipline of the artist or of the exact scholar only occasionally serves her. Much of her significance lies in her promise. Faithful to her original vision, she has moved steadily onward, growing, writing no book like its predecessor, applying her wisdom continually to new knowledge, leaving behind her a rich detritus which she will perhaps be willing to consider detritus if it helps to nourish subsequent generations. Yet from a writer with such vitality as hers it is difficult not to expect more lasting books than she has yet written: books in which her poetical vision will be given stricter form and her speculative power will be sustained with exacter learning. Profound writers can be good writers.

CARL VAN DOREN

Books

Mine and Gallery

A History of European and American Sculpture from the Early Christian Period to the Present Time. By Chandler Rathfon Post. Harvard University Press. 2 vols. $15.

AT best an art history is a grim invention. There is something awful about classifying men and laying them away as in a herbarium. How dry they become, these artists of the long ago! How quiet the merry modelers and cheerful chiselers of the past—God, how quiet! Not a sound from them! The glad tumult of the *bottega*—the badinage—the words of encouragement—Donatello's "Per la fede che ho io nel mio 'Zuccone' "—Cellini's rantings and boastings—the vigorous protests of François Rude—the multitudinous, vibrant voices of the ages, down to Saint-Gaudens's French songs and exultant "Hooray" over his Winged Victory—all are silent in these tomes. "Great art demands passionate appreciation," we are told; yet according to the usual chronicles neither artist nor commentator knows aught of emotion.

For these two beautiful volumes, a remarkable work, the author will be thanked by many students for long years to come. If he has not entirely escaped the academic aloofness which so tantalizes the practitioner of the arts, he yet reveals an enthusiasm for research as well as an ability to form independent judgments and to express them.

We usually esteem new acquaintances according to their appreciation of our old and established friends, and it is quite instinctive to use one's favorites in art as the touchstone by means of which to rate new critics. My first impulse was not to read in leisurely fashion the preface and thoughtful introductions of the various sections, but rather to see at once what the wise man has to say of Jacopo della Quercia and Donatello, of Desiderio and Benedetto. Does he appreciate Michelangelo's sculpture as sculpture, or does he merely repeat the traditional eulogies? What does he see in Claus Sluter? Does he thrill to the charm of Goujon? Does he grasp the greatness of Houdon's Voltaire? How about Rude and The Departure, and Carpeaux and The Dance? What of Frémiet? and Dubois? and Dalou? Does he hate the Delacroix Monument as much as he should? Does he swallow Rodin whole, or is he able to discriminate between such masterpieces as L'Age d'Airain, the Saint Jean Baptiste, and the Burghers of Calais, and such abominations as The Centauress and the Child of the Century? Does he recognize the hope that lies in the probity of Bouchard and the cyclopean energy of Bourdelle? Does he realize just what is America's debt to Saint-Gaudens? Is he willing to admit that some German monuments are monumental?

On most of these points the professor passes his examination with unexpected success. The statements of historic fact are precise and accurate. The characterizations are as varied as the subjects and frequently most felicitous. Donatello fares well. His preeminence as a leader and experimenter, his wide interests and achievement in every form of sculpture are emphasized. But though we are told of his realism, of his liking for thin, emaciated figures, we are not told of his powers of simplification—of his mastery of the stone-cutter's language which makes the saints and prophets of his first period the decorative triumphs which they are, and which they were primarily intended to be. We are not told why the Saint George is great, nor why the ugly Zuccone is a masterpiece of architectural sculpture. The author does give us, however, a hint of the power which dwelt in Della Quercia and which in another century was to be incarnated in Michelangelo. With the other masters of the Quattrocento he is likewise sympathetic, although I cannot forgive a praise of Ghiberti's first gates which fails to recognize the immense superiority of Andrea's reliefs.

Nor do I feel that what we are told of Michelangelo's art would quite convince us of his supremacy. Much is said of con-

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tortions and "contrapposto," but why Buonarroti is universally recognized as the greatest master since the Greeks one does not glean. The author's apparent indifference is accentuated by a wretched illustration of the Sleeping Captive which is permitted to misrepresent the glorious light and shade of the work. The Moses is merely mentioned as "one of the most terrifying pieces of sculpture in the world."

To Claus Sluter and his sturdy Burgundian colleagues Mr. Post does full justice. His characterization of Goujon, though less poetic than that of Louis Hourticq, shows real appreciation, and his reference to Pilon's masterly Birague would satisfy Louis Gonse. But what Frenchman—or sculptor of any nation—could be satisfied to find Houdon's Voltaire summed up in these lifeless words: "His most renowned portrait is perhaps that of the seated Voltaire in the Théâtre Français, of whom he made also many busts; the costume of an ancient sage, in contrast to the ineffective nudity employed by Pigalle, is a contributing factor in alleviating the realism of the countenance and of the sardonic smile and in disengaging it from the ephemeral"? On the other hand Pigalle's absurdly theatrical tomb of the Maréchal de Saxe is described with a rare burst of enthusiasm: "His effigy, from the standpoint of realism, majestic pose, and dignified movement, is one of the supreme achievements of the century"! After this we are less astonished to read the eulogy of Canova's "deservedly famous group of Cupid bending over the recumbent Psyche"—that most unsculptural of all of Canova's "ideations." Rude is fairly treated in the text, although you would never guess from it that The Departure, of the Arc de Triomphe, is the greatest of French monumental sculptures. The only thing pictured of all of the master's varied output is his unfortunate Marshal Ney.

But why complain of occasional lapses when we have so much to be thankful for? The book is a mine of valuable information and a gallery of rare and generally excellent illustrations. Of Christian and Romanesque sculpture we find one of the best summaries that has been written. Gothic sculpture of many lands is admirably illustrated and described, if not always professionally interpreted. Germany, England, and the Lowlands have their full share of attention, while the art of Spain, so unknown to us, is treated with exceptional sympathy and fullness. America's brief annals are ably outlined with much skill of phrase. Mr. Post is hard on his contemporaries and likes to tell of their "dulness" and "banality," but has now and then a good word for a struggling craftsman, as in his tribute to George Barnard's manly art and in his identification of the hope of American sculpture with Manship's clever echoes of Pompeii. The accounts of the latest movements in all countries are sane and most readable. Rodin and his influence receive due attention. Maillol's importance is, however, exaggerated. Brancusi and Archipenko are treated respectfully—which is more than I could do!—while recent German art has its merited recognition. On Metzner and his weird pupil Mestrovic Mr. Post is particularly interesting. All in all, he has with incredible research and unflagging courage built up the most monumental and valuable work on sculpture that America has produced, and every one of us who is interested in the aesthetic development of this land will be grateful to him for his scholarly contribution.

LORADO TAFT

The International Mind

The Evolution of World-Peace. Essays arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin. Oxford University Press. $4.75.

THROUGHOUT all the ages of human history run three growing purposes: (1) Increasing knowledge and mastery of nature by man; (2) the equalization of classes; (3) the unification of the world. There are many other aims and goals discernible in the vast story, but all of them are either fugitive in time or restricted in area. These three alone are universal, for they are all referable to a more general biological law, that of adaptation of life to environment, and they all point to the apparently distant but not less certain consummation when men shall dwell together in a single great society, governed by justice and animated by scientific ideals. It is Mr. Marvin's great merit to have apprehended and to have set forth in the Unity Series the nature of progress along the lines indicated. In this fourth volume he has gathered a number of essays by eminent thinkers on the evolution of the international mind.

Two masterly studies of the ancient world, one by Professor Toynbee and Mr. Marvin on Alexander and Hellenism, one by Sir Paul Vinogradoff on Rome, set forth the international value of the political work of two great nations. While indorsing everything in them, one may possibly feel that the cultural phase of the situation has been slighted at the expense of the political. The first force to transcend nationalism was not the sword but religion, and the first clear enunciation of it is not in Greek but in Hebrew literature, in those words found in Isaiah and in Micah, first proclaimed in the year 720 B.C., and cited so often since that they have attained the currency of a proverb: "The Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains . . . and all nations shall flow unto it. . . . They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Partly under Jewish influence, partly as a reflection of the world state, the same noble pacifism and internationalism found its way into the philosophy of the Stoics and into the mystery religions and into Christianity. The imagination of the greatest of the Roman poets took fire from the altar erected to the august master of the world, and he sang the high destiny of the state whose "arts were these: to impose the law of peace; to spare the lowly and beat down the proud."

In fact, the ideal of a Roman catholic state, the counterpart of the Roman Catholic church, which inspired the Middle Ages and created the Holy Roman Empire, was itself created by Vergil as much as by Caesar. The work of both church and state, the common tradition of classic culture and the heritage of the Latin language, made Western Europe at least formally more unified than it is today. Among the scholars of genuinely international mind produced by the medieval habit of thought, none was greater than Erasmus. Living, as he did, at the boundary between the Middle Ages and modern times, when nationalism was becoming a dominant force, he never tired of proclaiming that an unjust peace was preferable to a just war, that governments should leave their differences to arbitration, and that he personally could own no fatherland narrower than the whole world.

The thought of Erasmus was perhaps the strongest single influence in the work of his countryman Grotius, though Mr. G. N. Clark, who writes an interesting chapter on the founder of international law, does not recognize this but stresses instead the influence of Alberico Gentili.[1] English writers, until a century ago, were not disposed to do justice to the work of Grotius, for it was called forth and to some extent colored by the Dutch view of "the freedom of the seas" during the wars between Holland and England.[2] In the inchoate state of the international code, all that either side got from the other was, as William III put it in a grim pun, "cannon law"

In modern times the ecumenical role once played by religion has been supplied partly by the scientific point of view, partly by common political ideals. The world-force of the French Revolution is finely set forth by Mr. G. P. Gooch. One of the mainsprings of enthusiasm for th Revolution was the conviction of its universal significance. "Your laws will be the laws of Europe if you are worthy," said Mirabeau to the Constituent Assembly; "the Revolution will encircle the globe." "If we succeed," sang André Chénier, "the destiny of Europe will be

[1] Perhaps this is not the place for learned notes, but has it ever before been noticed that this important Italian, who taught in England, matriculated at Wittenberg on August 8, 1586?

[2] There is an interesting autograph letter of P. P. Rubens, on an Anglo-Dutch case of maritime law, at the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia.

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changed. Men will regain their rights, and the people their sovereignty; and the name of France will be blessed upon earth." A strong impulse was given to all egalitarian causes, even indirectly to women's rights and to socialism. But to none of the French publicists can as high a place be given, as the founder of a sane internationalism, as to Immanuel Kant. His essay On Perpetual Peace set forth the ideal of a loose federal union of self-governing states and demanded for the family of nations a constitution. As a true son of the Enlightenment Kant relied on reason and on the innate idea of right to bring about the accomplishment of his program.

But alas! this dawning enthusiasm for peace gave way to the violence of a world war second only in destructiveness to that witnessed in our own day. That the peace established by the Congress of Vienna was a juster and wiser one than that enacted at Versailles can hardly be doubted by the reader of Professor C. R. Beazley's interesting chapter. "Of relentless punishment, ruthless revenge, there was none," he declares. So far was France, the defeated aggressor, from being ground to powder that she was one of the five guarantors of the settlement, practically on an equality with her vanquishers. And the peace, if not perfect, was kept for at least a whole generation.

Mr. Marvin himself sketches the growth of internationalism in the nineteenth century, due to the binding power of the locomotive and the telegraph. He gives a due meed of glory to the men who worked for arbitration and who worked with so much success that in the last half of the century nearly one hundred and fifty disputes were decided by this method. Indeed, he claims that but for Germany the world would now be lapped in universal law, and that the war was but the punishment of the rebel against the already conceived world state. Possibly; but if so, "the fight for harmony was very bitter," to use the words of a newspaper's report of a recent party convention.

The eloquent pen of H. G. Wells offers An Apology for a World Utopia. To produce the international mind he relies chiefly on a new and truthful teaching of history and ethnology. The trouble is not only, or chiefly, that in the past the devil has shown himself as apt in citing history as in citing Scripture, but that the interests of the masses have been diverted from the important to the showy and superficial. Dickens paints the character of a mild monomaniac who is always writing memorials from which he tries, but tries in vain, to keep out some allusion to the execution of Charles I. Clio has imitated this crazy person, for, as Miss Eileen Powers points out in the concluding essay of this volume, whereas all histories of the seventeenth century mention that in 1649 Charles lost his head, hardly one mentions that in 1645 Sir Richard Weston introduced the turnip into England, a vastly more important event. With these chapters and with the purpose of the whole admirable book the instructed and imaginative reader should be in warm sympathy. Surely the cause it serves is a solemn and an urgent one, or there is none such on this little planet. In facing it there are only two possible attitudes, the flippant egoist's "après nous le déluge," and the thoughtful moralist's, "magis me movet illud longum tempus quum non ero quam hoc exiguum."

PRESERVED SMITH

Varieties of Humorous Experience

The Sense of Humor. By Max Eastman. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

"SO far as the present technique of psychology permits of solutions," writes Max Eastman in his preface, "I have tried to solve the problem of humorous laughter. And if I have taken one valid step toward that solution, it will please my purpose better than any amount of the success that might be called literary." To the mind of the present reviewer it is precisely for its literary quality, for its warmth of suggestion and appreciation, for its happy epithets and illustrations that the book is chiefly interesting. But since it is rather as a psychological monograph that the author wishes it to be taken, it is perhaps well to state the thesis of the volume at the very beginning.

Mr. Eastman's findings appear to be as follows: "Humor is an instinct, an original tendency of the human animal as native as the impulses of sex or pugnacity or fear." (One wonders why Mr. Eastman chose to demonstrate this thesis in the last chapter instead of in the first.) It is aroused by a wide variety of situations, but humorous laughter is chiefly the "laughter of playful pain." That is, we are amused by disappointment, when the disappointment is not too serious to be treated as a joke. Playing is, as Mr. Eastman puts it, fun, but failure in play is funny. Our pleasure in a joke is thus a commingling of disappointment and pleasure, disappointment in not getting what we expected, and pleasure in getting some substitute satisfaction, a sudden truth flashed from the eyes of a jest, the furtive fulfilment of some conventionally repressed desire in the unexpected point of a joke.

All this if true—and Mr. Eastman makes out a good case for it—is moderately illuminating. That we laugh because we get something we don't expect, or because we don't get something we do expect; that if we are very much in earnest in a given situation, a substitution or a disappointment will not be a joke—none of this, either in theme or statement, is very novel doctrine. Nor is doctrine the outstanding merit of Mr. Eastman's book. Its virtues lie rather in those chapters wherein he analyzes with the sympathetic understanding of the humane psychologist what one might call the varieties of humorous experience. It is here that Mr. Eastman says things that vivify the experience of humor and make it more intelligible. Especially is this true of the chapters on Practical and Poetic Humor. Here he shows with his usual intimate warmth and directness how much of comedy and wit is a tripping up of our habitual associations and expectations, and how a more subtle "poetic" humor is based on a kind of inverse or perverse poetry which describes objects by incongruous choice and comparison. In illustration of which latter point the author cites Aristophanes's remark that a certain statesman "had a voice like a pig on fire," and Charlie Chaplin's portrayal of an angel picking its feathers. And about the humor of quantity, of exaggeration and understatement, of irony and pathos, Mr. Eastman throws out perceptive hints and suggestions.

To anyone who remembers Mr. Eastman's book on poetry, who recalls the penetrative radiance with which he vivified that art, and made us see what the poet was doing and what constituted our pleasure in his performance, this book on humor must come as a disappointment. Lighted up with glinting phrases and generous abounding enthusiasms, it is none the less annoyingly scrambled and discursive. One leaves it with the feeling that one hardly knows more about humor than when one started, and rather less than one might have gathered from reading the files of *Punch* or *Simplicissimus* or *Life*. As a scientific contribution the book is at its best in the part that Mr. Eastman in his preface tells the hurried reader to omit, the historical survey of theories of humor from the Greeks to Bergson. This is a thorough piece of scholarship and criticism, and done with rare grace. But one comes away from the recital sharing the sentiment of the German psychologist, Lipps, whom Mr. Eastman quotes: "The feeling of the comic is the feeling of the comic *und weiter nichts.*" Few philosophers from Plato to Max Eastman have said anything more illuminating about it.

IRWIN EDMAN

A Scholar and a Gentleman

Memories and Notes of Persons and Places. By Sir Sidney Colvin. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

SIR SIDNEY COLVIN represents in the history of English criticism a transition point between the old-fashioned judicial method and the new-fashioned impressionist method, and there are moods in which we return to his disinterested and

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self-effacing studies of Keats and Landor with the kind of pleasant relief with which in actual life we encounter refined and enthusiastic erudition which has been as yet unperturbed by psychoanalytical curiosity. After all there does remain much to be said for this sheer simple devotion to great things when accompanied by that generous urbanity which we have come to associate with the word "gentleman" and that patient seriousness which we have learned to connect with the word "scholar." Sir Sidney is now approaching his seventy-sixth year and the volume before us is made up of personal recollections regarding the various notable people with whom it has been his good fortune to come in contact.

It cannot be said that even his guarded phrases are capable of presenting either Robert Browning or George Meredith in a very attractive light. In describing the social activities of the former, who it appears was to be met with everywhere "at concerts, theaters, picture galleries, dinner parties, country houses," we are told that "loudness of voice and a vigorous geniality of being was what on the surface distinguished Browning from other Englishmen." We are given an amusing picture of him reading his own poetry "duly stressed by his foot stamping vigorously in tune." We also hear of him telling anecdotes—of a bromidic jocularity—to Cambridge undergraduates. In the account of Colvin's first meeting with George Meredith there is indeed a sense of easy familiarity and long holiday afternoons. He was introduced, he tells us, "across a stile or field-gate to which Meredith had come up in company with the two Stevensons, Louis and Bob, at the end of a twelve-mile walk." But when Sir Sidney goes on to relate that Meredith's favorite diversion, "when there were three or four friends, men or women or both, gathered about him, was to begin bantering one of them for the entertainment of the rest," the grace of the picture becomes a little marred. More welcome is the glimpse we get of Edward Fitzgerald, younger brother of the mad Suffolk squire. "All we saw of him was an odd, tall, sad-faced, middle-aged or elderly gentleman wandering, say rather drifting, abstractedly about the country roads in an ill-fitting suit with a shabby hat pushed back on his head and an old cape cast anyhow about his shoulder."

Robert Louis Stevenson survives the ordeal of Sir Sidney's recollections more happily than do any of his contemporaries. From the day Colvin first met him as a boy, knapsack on back, on a wayside platform in Suffolk to the moment he waved goodby to him on the deck of the Ludgate Hill there is nothing mentioned or indicated that could in any way detract from one's impression of Stevenson as an exceedingly lovable and engaging personality. "As long as he was there you kept discovering with delight unexpected powers in yourself"—an influence different enough, we dare venture, from the presence of George Meredith, who is said to have extended his ironic persiflage even to his servants. Sir Sidney gives us a good portrait of Stevenson. "The most robust of ordinary men," he says, "seemed dim and null in presence of the vitality that glowed in the steadfast, penetrating fire of the lean man's eyes." He tells us that Stevenson almost always appeared "in slovenly, nondescript Bohemian garments." Only once apparently did Colvin see him attired otherwise. It was on the occasion of their visiting the Royal Academy Exhibition together, when R. L. S. donned a black frock coat and tall hat (albeit carrying his hat in his hand because it chafed his head) and proceeded toward Burlington House declaiming certain lines from Milton. We learn that Stevenson cherished a singular antipathy for banks and other official money markets.

Some of the more cynical among us have been tempted to think that much unnecessary sentiment has been expended on Stevenson's illness, for example, all that bravura about his "wishing to die in his boots." In this volume there is one curious passage that seems to indicate that the bold front he bore to the world was not perhaps as easy to him as we have been guilty of supposing. Referring to a visit that he had made to Stevenson during his stay at Bournemouth, Colvin says: "I had followed him from the house into the garden: he was leaning with his back to me, looking out from the garden gate; as he heard me approach he turned round upon me a face such as I never saw on him save that once—a face of utter despondency, nay tragedy, upon which seemed stamped for one concentrated moment the expression of all he had ever, or might yet have, in life, to suffer or renounce." Sir Sidney, with an unconscious display of that nice feeling which is obviously part of his nature, concludes the sentence: "Such a countenance was not to be accosted and I left him."

One feels that this critic could write a good book on the touchy egotism of authors. Indulgent as he invariably seems to have been to the weaknesses of the great, he became, one fancies, a little resentful of the continuous "Chut, le maître va parler" in Victor Hugo's chambers. It is interesting to note the allusion to Victor Hugo's curious hostility to Goethe and jealousy of Goethe's fame. It appears that Hugo could not understand the civilized attitude of that great "good European" toward national patriotism. That Goethe should have consented to go to Erfurt as a guest of Napoleon when his native land was being crushed under the emperor's heel was a perpetual cause of moral offense to the great Frenchman. "Moi, je regarde Goethe comme Jeanne d'Arc aurait regardé Messaline."

Sir Sidney gives a vivid picture of the elaborate etiquette by which G. H. Lewes preserved George Eliot's splendid isolation at the famous Sunday audiences held at the Priory. After a gathering such as this it must have been a fine relief, one thinks, to visit Edward John Trelawny. That old buccaneer, traducer of women, trusted lieutenant of Greek freebooters, still harboring in his octogenarian head his knowledge of treasure-filled caves, was found by Colvin alone in his Sussex cottage, his red cap on his head. One would certainly have liked to witness the surprise on the faces of his discreet callers when, mention being made of the first Transvaal war, he roared out: "If I were a young man I would go and fight for the Boers, fight for the Boers, fight for the Boers." Sir Sidney tried to get him to talk of Landor but with little success. "A remarkable man, a remarkable man" were the only words to be drawn from the lips of the proud, choleric old ruffian. One of the polite visitors, as they were leaving, was bold enough to congratulate the veteran on looking so well. "S'very well, s'very well," came back the answer; "lies, lies, lies." One can fully appreciate after this the weight of Sir Sidney's remark that "to have shaken the hand which plucked Shelley's heart out of the ashes was an experience one was not likely to forget." As a matter of fact, he actually saw the scar where the flames of the pyre burned the old man's hand.

Quite apart from the interest naturally aroused by stories of well-known people there is something so winning about Sir Sidney Colvin himself that we follow the stages of his own long and uneventful life with increasing and accumulative sympathy. We see him as a boy visiting, "before the dew was off the grass," the pools where he had laid his lines the evening before "to catch the big silver-bellied eels." We see him on the shores of Lake Killarney confiding to his friend by way of a conversational introduction that he "knew Ruskin." We see him at Monte Carlo spending with Stevenson "sunlit hours basking in a row-boat." We see him going about his patient duties at the British Museum, "passing several times a day the Elgin marbles by every kind of light or half light which an inclosed and roofed gallery and the varying dimness of the London atmosphere could afford." And finally we follow his steps as he walks—an old man—over his favorite downlands, in sight of Keats's hostel at Burford Bridge, in sight of Leatherhead and Jane Austen's Hill, in sight of the wooded park where Nelson and Lady Hamilton parted for the last time, and in sight of "those familiar and haunted slopes" whose tanned grasses, in far off summers, had received, so often, the shadows of his friends, now long since dead.

LLEWELLYN POWYS

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Two American Traditions

Lost Valley. By Katharine Fullerton Gerould. Harper and Brothers. $2.

The Parlor Begat Amos. By Arthur S. Hildebrand. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $1.90.

EVEN by those fully cognizant of her powers, Katharine Fullerton Gerould has been called a snob, and a snob she is, but a certain delicate morbidity is an even more strongly marked trait of her temperament. Fond as she has been of reflecting in her characters and in her attitude toward them a somewhat ostentatiously impeccable social tradition, she has often used this tradition chiefly as a contrasting background upon which to project little gleams of mystery and horror which sent delicious shivers down her spine. These shivers have been frequently the *raison d'être* of her art.

"Lost Valley" is again a story of the austere New England tradition, though this time in its humbler aspects, and is, as one might expect, a work of icy virtuosity with frequent touches of the grotesque. The opening pages in which is evoked the life in a forgotten and decaying pocket of hills are finely done. Then the horrible enters in the person of Lola, an illegitimate child who is feeble-minded but beautiful with the simplicity of a primitive madonna; and the outré element grows and grows as Lola, fascinated by an organ-grinder's monkey, follows him to Boston and New York and is pursued by the heroine for a year through the Italian and Chinese slums. Here is melodrama infinitely refined and psychologized but melodrama none the less, and Mrs. Gerould indulges her morbidity by getting a fiercely restrained aesthetic pleasure in picking her way through the slums and noting the sounds and smells which she loathes. "Tin cans and orange peels, frozen into black ice, like a devil's dessert," she says in describing a street, "are not inspiriting"; but obviously they fascinate her and time and again she reminds one of nothing so much as an exquisitely gowned little girl poking gingerly in a garbage pail and inhaling the odor with fascinated revulsion. Not seldom the morbidity and the melodrama detract somewhat from the dignity of her story, which is a story of duty and a great loyalty, and there are times also when that deep-lying snobbishness of her temperament leads her to substitute her remarkable literary virtuosity for sympathetic understanding of her characters. At the end, however, she rises again to the tragic level.

She is at her best when she is closest to her theme—the last flowering of New England character in a degenerate stock—and there is no missing the dignity of this theme. It is true that to the modern-minded person, Madge, wasting her youth in devotion to an idiot niece and a crazy grandmother, neither of whom could possibly be worth the sacrifice, simply because her "duty" lies there, will seem hopelessly a slave to an incomprehensible code. Nor will her equally austere father, whose suicide elicits from Mrs. Gerould the grim comment that "in all probability his deepest satisfaction came from consulting, once in a way, only his own desires," seem more comprehensible. But such a code did, once at least, command a passionate loyalty, and however completely one may have renounced one's allegiance to that code there is no denying the dignity which this passion lent to its adherents or the tragic nature of the conflicts involved. It represents what is, so far, the most powerful American tradition.

"The Parlor Begat Amos" is also a story of an American tradition, but of a tradition of a far different sort. The parlor did not exactly beget the physical Amos but it was the triumphant hereditary factor in his soul. To his parents the parlor was, with its unused piano, its unopened book, and the expensive ugliness of its seldom-used furniture, the symbol of their success in life, demonstrating by its very uselessness their inclusion within the class to whom superfluities are possible. To Amos it was the outward and visible sign not merely of social standing but of adherence to the code of safe respectability as well. This code, which is now generally denominated the Main Street code, but which might as properly be called the Parlor code, is the product of a tradition which is as genuine as the tradition of New England but which has not a trace of the latter's dignity because it has not a trace of the latter's passion. The substitution of Propriety for Duty, of Respectability for Righteousness, and of Mrs. Grundy for Jehovah is the result merely of a failure of passion, and the Parlor tradition is a mean tradition just because it lacks this passion. The one is to the other as Shaw's Roebuck Ramsen is to Savonarola.

From the literary standpoint Mrs. Gerould's tradition is rich in tragic possibilities because it brings into conflict two powerful passions, the passion for righteousness and the passion for fulness of life, while from the Parlor tradition can come no tragedy because it is merely a spiritual death. One can get from it, however, a certain pathos, and this Mr. Hildebrand gets in his story of the boy whose vague feeling-out for romance and beauty was stifled. It is hard to be as deeply moved as perhaps the author would wish us to be by the story of a man who is so easily overcome by deadening forces as Amos is, but the book is diverting throughout and admirably restrained in its incidental humor in places where the popularity of the Main Street theme would tempt to broad burlesque. It closes neatly on a note of wry fun when the hero's affianced plans for him a career in the strict Parlor tradition: "They went away for a brief honeymoon with the delicious sense that they were coming back to a regular home in an orderly world. Constance knew that this was exactly what Amos needed—though he was not always willing to admit that it was what he wanted—and she set about the task of giving it to him, from the very moment of the wedding."

J. W. KRUTCH

Books in Brief

IN the face of an extravagant foreword by Franklin P. Adams to "A Penny Whistle, Together with the Babette Ballads" (Knopf), the first of several volumes which promise to collect the column-verse of the late Bert Leston Taylor, it must be said that B.L.T. made better reading in A Line O' Type than he now makes out of it. With all the scrupulosity and precision which F.P.A. claims for this light verse, it yet lacks force and point in the measure that was to be expected by those who understood A Line O' Type to be the best newspaper column in the country. The fine spontaneity of Eugene Field, B.L.T.'s predecessor on the Chicago *Tribune*, is not present in these cleverly labored pages; nor is the glorious gusto of Don Marquis, whose recent volume, "Noah an' Jonah an' Cap'n John Smith" (Appleton), is very funny. B.L.T. was a better editor than poet; Don Marquis, hugely human and absurd, is his Sun Dial's best contributor. Don Marquis will do well to let much of his serious verse lie dead. His latest volume, "Poems and Portraits" (Doubleday, Page), lively as it is near the end in a series of sonnets called Savage Portraits, is for the most part fearfully stuffed with commonplace philosophy and more commonplace patriotism. He has never appeared better than he did last summer in "The Old Soak and Hail and Farewell" (Doubleday, Page), a book of prose and verse inspired by Prohibition. The Old Soak, like Archie the Cockroach, or like Hermione, is a comic creation of definite dimensions—one of Mark Twain's men.

Drama

Three Plays

FOR a theater or any house of art I know no better motto than that sentence of Dryden which does not grow stale with repeated quotation: "The spirit of man cannot be satisfied but with truth, or at least verisimility." Verisimility, that is, likeness to the outer and visible aspects of truth, is a great vir-

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tue since the phenomenon betrays its cause and the body its soul, but inner truth is the transcendent one which is tied to the form and mood of no single school or kind of art but may inhere in a work whatever its method and technique. Inner truth—the correspondence to some profound human experience—here, if anywhere, is a test by which we may discover whether a play, a story, a poem rises to that plane on which a self-respecting criticism begins its activity.

Outside of the work of Susan Glaspell and Eugene O'Neill we have had two American plays that rise to such a plane this season: Arthur Richman's "Ambush" and Henry Myers's "The First Fifty Years" (Princess Theater). "The First Fifty Years" is a very imperfect work. But more important than its imperfections is the fact that a hitherto unknown American dramatist had this conception, executed it upon these terms, and found a producer. The play tells the inner history, portrays the marital fortunes, of a couple who took up their life together in 1872 and from whom we part on the anniversary of their golden wedding. No characters are shown throughout the eight scenes except this man and this woman; they have no singularities of fortune; no change in the character of their union is accounted for by the intrusion of any forces from without. The fact that they live not only in society, but in a rigid and to them fatal society, is sufficiently, is, indeed, tragically, brought home to us by the overshadowing fact that it is the moral and material pressure of this society which forces them to make permanent the relation which is both their history and their doom. On this fundamental and here necessary assumption Mr. Henry Myers builds his dramatic structure. He builds it therefore as austerely as possible. No change occurs, no crisis arises but such as is strictly attributable to the characters and the interaction of the characters of the two people portrayed. The imperfections of Mr. Myers's work are all on the side of execution. The psychological continuity is not seamless; the deterioration of the marriage is too rapid or, rather, too gross. We cannot quite accept both the first scene and the second; they are separated by a discrepancy which leaves its mark on the rest of the play. Nor will it be conceded that these two variable and average beings had the iron strength to maintain a ten years' silence. But when these and other similar criticisms have been made, there still remains the conception; there still remains the characterization so excellently projected by Clare Eames and Tom Powers; there still remain many moments in the course of the seven scenes that are really searching, really significant of that inner truth by which we recognize in a given work, however faulty, the presence of the artistic intelligence.

It is precisely this intelligence that has had little or nothing to do with "The Truth About Blayds" (Booth Theater) by the very nimble and smoothly accomplished A. A. Milne. That a young poet could have written before the age of twenty-five work which could be passed off as his own by his false friend gradually over a period of seventy years is a flagrant and trivial absurdity. Imagine a Victorian of eighty-one printing as new poems of his own the verses of Shelley's last year: When the Lamp Is Shattered, or the Invitation: To Jane, or the Recollection, or the Dirge. And Shelley is the only conceivable parallel in reality to the disinherited Jenkins. No, neither truth nor verisimility had anything to do with this performance. And neither Mr. Milne's sprightliness nor the extremely elegant production of Mr. Winthrop Ames can make the play anything but an ephemeral wonder to the shallow and the unthinking.

That truth to nothing but the ultimate aspiration of a very intense spirit can give art both body and soul is proved once more, if proof were needed, by the Theater Guild production of the final part, As Far as Thought Can Reach, of "Back to Methuselah." The aspiration is one, moreover, which men are coming to share less rather than more. No anchorite of the Libyan desert was ever a fiercer moral Manichee than Shaw. He wants no cure; he wants amputation. He will not even compromise with the body. It makes his gorge rise; it must be destroyed. Yet the intensity of his conviction makes him, in the broader sense, almost a poet and lends him a large mythopoeic imagination. The vision of that imagination the artists of the Guild have embodied in a manner that has so much clear beauty unifying its significant details that only captiousness can quarrel with their work. The formal note of the production, indicated by the proper names that Shaw uses, is Greek. We have yet no other artistic idiom for the expression of the things of the pure imagination. That idiom, then, the production used with both gravity and brightness and thus conveyed to us the intellectual interest as well as the pictorial beauty inherent in the text.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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International Relations Section

Industrial War in South Africa

THE documentary history of the great South African strike shows the process whereby an industrial struggle can develop into a war and economic issues broaden and change. The sanguinary conflict which has just closed began at the end of December with a strike of coal miners on the Rand following an announced cut of five shillings per shift in wages. The workers claimed, according to the *Cape Times*, that while their pay had been increased by some 50 per cent, the cost of living had risen 86 per cent, and that the 5s. cut in wages would not result in sufficient saving to improve the export trade. The coal owners asserted that the cost of living could not be taken into consideration; that the price of coal would not permit the continuance of increased wages; and that if wages were not reduced many mines would go out of action. The strike vote was carried by a large majority, but the miners declared themselves willing to refer the questions at issue to arbitration.

The Operators Refuse Arbitration

At the last moment, on December 29, the employers through the Colliery Section of the Chamber of Mines issued a statement, part of which follows:

As regards the refusal of the Colleries Section of the Chamber of Mines to submit its case for a reduction of wages of Europeans employed on the collieries to arbitration, it is clear that arbitration can usefully be resorted to when the matter of dispute is a question of fact which can be decided upon evidence; but whether it is possible for an industrial undertaking to pay a certain rate of wages is a matter of opinion dependent upon various factors which are in this particular case highly speculative and not susceptible of decision by arbitration. . . .

It is not reasonable that individual collieries which are working on practically no margin of profit should be expected to submit the decision as to whether they shall continue in existence or not to any third party. Attempts to settle wages by third parties are today discredited. In England it is generally recognized that the result of even wages board awards has been to force up wages, irrespective of the economic position, and to close down business. In Australia, the governments of the various states—mostly labor governments—are considering the necessity of abolishing industrial courts for the same reason.

A Government Appeal

A government statement, issued on the same day, restated the reasons for the operators' refusal of arbitration, and then in the name of the Prime Minister appealed to the miners in the following terms:

As the miners are aware, the policy of the Government for a considerable number of years has been directed to securing peace in the industrial field by supporting a policy of negotiations, and where, on many occasions, a deadlock has arisen, the influence of the Government has been generally directed in favor of the workers, and pressure has often been brought to bear on the employers to concede the points which they would otherwise have refused to consider. On this occasion the Government feels that in the circumstances it is impossible and futile to request further concessions from the coal owners alone. The very life and future of the coal industry are at stake. . . .

Since the settlement of the great English coal strike cuts in wages have been accepted by the English miners which go far beyond anything that has been proposed in this country. The result of this is such a lowering of English coal prices that South African competition, even in our well-established bunkering coal and export markets, is becoming most difficult. There has been an alarming decline in our export coal trade, and the prospects of a further set-back are serious to contemplate. . . .

The coal owners' profits are on the whole moderate, and in many cases very low, and possible reductions under that head will not affect the situation appreciably. The coal miners, even with the proposed reduction to 25s., will next month still be better off than the gold miners, whose wages will then be 24s. 6d. What the gold miners have agreed to accept ought, surely, not to be a matter for the coal miners to strike on, in view of the fact that their industry equally with that of the gold miners is under present conditions seriously threatened.

The coal miners can make a great contribution toward preserving their industry by falling into line with the gold miners so far as the scale of mining wages is concerned. The Prime Minister makes the most earnest appeal for them to do so. If they fail to do so, they will be doing less than their duty to themselves, to their industry, and to their country, and they will not be supported by public opinion. . . .

The Government will, in the event of a strike, be compelled to appeal to all mine managers, officials, and workers to render every assistance required for the maintenance of essential utility services, not for the purpose of bringing pressure on the one side or the other in the present dispute, but in the exercise of its bounden duty to protect, to the fullest extent, the public interest.

The Injection of the Native Question

Soon after the outbreak of trouble the question of an increase in the proportion of colored labor came to the front as a supplementary issue. The strikers claimed that the "color bar" was to be let down and that white labor would be forced out of the mines. The owners denied this but insisted that a larger proportion of black to white labor was a justified economy. The existing proportion was approximately one white to eight colored. On January 10 the Chamber of Mines issued a statement explaining its position in the matter.

The time has come for the mining industry to nail once and for all the lie, so frequently repeated at conferences and public meetings on the Rand, that the color bar is to be abolished. No such intention exists. Therefore, when this allegation is repeated, as it has been again and again to the men, a great responsibility rests with those who have made it, and who have therefore fostered a strike on a false issue. It may precipitate a situation which will force a prolonged stoppage of the mines, for once the native labor force is dispersed it will take months to reassemble it, and during that time the wives and children of the great majority of the wage-earners along this reef will be confronted with starvation.

The leaders of the industry do not want a strike. It will result in great losses. We want the community to understand the correct issues, not to be misled by the absolutely false declaration that the color bar is to be abolished. The position was that certain partially skilled work would in future have to be done by colored men, that the skilled jobs would all be in the hands of the white men, and that some such proportion as one to eleven would be resolved on as the definite and unalterable guaranty that the white man's position would be safeguarded. The present rate is one white man to 8.5 natives and colored men. Therefore, whoever declares that the mine owners have resolved to destroy the color bar is uttering an absolute falsehood.

The Strike Grows

Meanwhile more workers were being drawn into the strike. On January 3 the South African Industrial Federation published the draft of a strike ballot which set forth the points in dispute and asked for a strike vote from the workers. On January 9 the result of the ballot was an-

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nounced—ten to one in favor of a strike—and in spite of earnest efforts by General Smuts to bring about a delay the Federation called out all workers in the mines (including the gold mines), in the Victoria Falls Power Company, and in the Johannesburg engineering shops. The position of the men is given in a statement issued broadcast to all members of unions affiliated with the Federation:

FELLOW-WORKERS: We have, owing to the attitude of the employers' organizations, reluctantly been compelled to request your authority to take drastic action on issues of the most vital consequence to all workers and the community. You have, in the most emphatic manner, expressed your determination to resist the employers' unfair and conscienceless proposals. By ten to one you have authorized a strike of labor, and we request that as from the last shift worked on Monday all will withhold their labor until an honorable settlement has been reached, vindicating the right of the worker to be fully consulted and that without a perpetual threat of conditions being forced on us willy-nilly.

A progressive lowering of the standard of living has been forced on us ever since the outbreak of the Great War, and now, on the plea of saving the low-grade mines, which are low grade by reason of the course followed by the owners, you are being asked to eliminate one-fifth of the white workers, with more to follow, since the low-grade mines, as an excuse for attacks on labor, are eternal. We can only, in this dark crisis, demand that for the sake of the future of your children you should support your deliberate mandate by solidly standing together, not for victory over anyone but for the vindication of right and justice and a reasonable hope for the white race in South Africa.

A PEACE OFFER

On the following day, January 10, the Federation wrote to the Prime Minister, offering terms of settlement. The following summary of the letter was printed in the *Cape Times* on January 11.

1. Coal Mines—The withdrawal of the ultimatum and the adjustment of wages on a basis of no greater reduction than half the amount proposed by the employers, and no further reductions until the margin between the assumed and actual increase in the cost of living has disappeared, or alternative arbitration.

2. Gold Mines—Withdrawal of notices issued by the Chamber of Mines regarding underground contracts, status-quo agreement, and rearrangement of underground work. The question of contracts and the rearrangement of underground work to be decided by agreement between the Chamber and the unions concerned. The policy of eliminating white workers and replacing them by cheap labor to be departed from and a definite ratio of colored workers to white in the industry to be fixed.

3. The Victoria Falls Power Company—The withdrawal of the letter intimating that the Victoria Falls Power Company was not prepared to meet the representatives of the unions to discuss the question of basic rates and an adjustment to be made in the basic rates as fixed by agreement between the V. F. P. Co. and the S. A. I. F., plus the 21 per cent increase, equivalent to an increase in the cost of living.

4. Engineering Shops, etc.—The withdrawal of the notices issued by the employers regarding the reductions in wages, any adjustment in wages to be a matter for discussion and mutual agreement between the employers and the unions concerned.

Further, a guaranty to be given by the employers that the terms of the agreement will be strictly observed.

5. In each case there are to be no further reductions in wages until the margin between the assumed increase in the cost of living and the actual increase has disappeared.

SENDING HOME THE NATIVES

These terms were quite unacceptable to the Chamber of Mines and while the Government took the proposal under advisement, the strike grew worse. The employers and the Government threatened to proceed with the repatriation of the native workers, a move bound to cause hardship to the colored men employed and to put off all hope of a speedy settlement. In protest against this action, the Federation made the following public statement:

The Executive Committee of the S. A. I. F. has considered the Government's and Chamber of Mines' threat to repatriate natives employed on the gold mines. This appears to us convincing evidence of the paramount position of the Chamber of Mines in the dictation of public policy. Each of these natives is on contract of from one to twelve months, and any refusal to work on the part of the native is a criminal offense, punishable by imprisonment, and has in the case of the Village Deep native strike been punished summarily by armed force. Yet the Chamber of Mines is apparently at liberty to break any contract with the natives at a moment's notice, and not only is not punishable, but is supported by the Government in doing so. These exponents of fair play to the native appear to have exceedingly warped ideas of that historic British attribute, fair play. When will this part of the color bar be attacked by the knights who weep over the injustices heaped on the native?

The *Cape Times* adds the following note disputing certain of the Federation's assertions:

The first natives to be repatriated will be those whose contracts have expired or are expiring from day to day and who wish to go home. Their numbers run into many thousands. If the strike continues for any length of time the remaining natives will be given the option of leaving, and the contract in their case will be terminated by mutual consent.

THE CONFERENCE

The controversy grew steadily hotter. At a meeting of the Industrial Federation on January 12 it was decided to ask every union not yet affected by the strike to take a ballot on the question of a general country-wide walk-out. The strikers were reported to have asked the railroad men to refuse to move trains carrying natives from the mines. A temporary hope of adjustment appeared when the Prime Minister suggested and the operators and strikers agreed to an unconditional conference of representatives of both sides with an impartial chairman. But even at the moment of the agreement the Federation called out the utility men who were manning the pumps and preventing the permanent ruin of the mines. The following announcement of this move was published:

1. That in view of the following, that the men placed on essential service by the S. A. I. F. are being discharged and their places filled by scabs, and, further, as our offer to work the coal mines to supply coal for essential services has not been accepted by the Government or employers, and that we have been requested by the various bodies in the S. A. I. F., we decide to withdraw all our men from essential services immediately and pronounce all such services and men engaged therein scab as from today, this to apply to all industries indicated in the ballot paper.

2. That runners be immediately sent to every district throughout the gold-mining industry informing all men on essential service that from 7 o'clock tomorrow morning all such work must cease.

3. That this communication be conveyed to the Chamber of Mines and the Government.

4. That notice of this decision be sent to all strike centers and union head offices.

The Conference met and dragged along inconclusively for several days. Finally on January 19 the Chamber of Mines put forward the following series of proposals:

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Subject to confirmation by the Executive of the respective parties, we agree:

1. To the appointment of a Board of Conciliation to inquire into the coal-mines dispute, such board to consist of two members appointed by the Chamber of Mines, two by the Federation, and a chairman, to be agreed upon by those appointed; failing agreement on a chairman, the Government to appoint a chairman.

2. The board to be appointed immediately, and to report at the earliest possible date, not later than February 16, 1922.

3. When the Conciliation Board has reported, both parties undertake to meet and endeavor to arrive at an agreement. If, however, no agreement is reached within one week of the issue of the Conciliation Board's report, both parties shall be at liberty to take such steps as they think fit, without the necessity of giving any further notice of their intentions to do so.

4. That subject to Clause 6 all strikers who present themselves for work within seventy-two hours of the date agreed for the resumption of operations on the coal mines be for the time being reemployed at the wages prevailing at the end of December, less 50 per cent of the reductions proposed by the Chamber.

5. No pay shall, of course, be given in respect of the strike period, but the latter shall not count as a break in service.

(Note.—The Federation representatives insist that the men on strike on the coal mines shall not return to work until all the other disputes have been settled.)

6. On the resumption of operations, collieries for various reasons, and more particularly on account of loss of trade brought about by the strike, will be producing considerably less output than before the strike, and will therefore require a smaller number of employees, both European and natives. The Federation's representatives have proposed that in order to meet this fact and to avoid the non-employment of many men a system of short time should be introduced, under which the collieries desiring to do so should work a reduced number of days per week, but that all employees must be given work on these days. To this proposal the Chamber's representatives were unable to agree, principally on account of the heavy cost of having to provide a full native labor force during those days, and maintain that full native force without work but on pay and rations for the remainder of the week. The only economic arrangement to meet the reduction in the scale of operations is to work the collieries with a reduced number of Europeans and natives and not on a short-time system. Consequently, if superfluous men are not to be retrenched, but to be reengaged as provided in Clause 4, then the managements must have the right to lay off without pay such men as they do not require for such periods as they are not required. This arrangement would continue in force until the expiry of the period ending one week after the issue of the report of the Conciliation Board. Thereafter the procedure prevailing prior to the guaranty of a 48-hour week to the men engaged and the retrenchment of men would again come into force. . . .

Although this proposal repudiated most of the suggestions previously put forward by the unions, the executive of the Federation agreed to submit the Chamber of Mines' offer to the men on strike not in the form of a ballot but with a request for an expression of opinion.

Shall the Color Bar Go?

Meanwhile, although the subject was kept rather in the background by both employers and strikers, the question of the employment of native and colored labor was generally held to be a fundamental issue in the controversy. We extract below two comments on the matter from two South African papers favoring the elimination of the color bar. The first, from the Queen's Town *Daily Representative*, says:

On the question of native labor the miners will also have to concede some points. . . . The miner on the Rand has to face the position as he finds it. A lot has been said of making the mines state owned. Trade unionists are particularly warm advocates of this, yet if ever they did become state owned, the color bar would have to go. At present the position is anomalous. A farmer can employ a colored man or a native or as many colored or as many natives as he wants to. But the mine owner and certain other industries have to observe the color bar. That is to say, they cannot employ skilled native and colored laborers, however good and however cheap these are, but must employ white labor, never mind how expensive. The result is that the development of industries in this country, the country which in reality possesses the cheapest labor in the world, is held up on account of that labor not being allowable because of its color.

The native paper, *Umteteli Wa Bantu*, gives the point of view of the Negro population.

The color bar must go, but the Chamber of Mines will not be responsible for its going. Nor will the trade union or any federation of unions be able much longer to keep it intact. The native people are politically much stronger than they were, and they are no longer voiceless. They have already made themselves heard, and Parliament has become conscious of duty undone. The public vision is clearer. It is now largely recognized that the issue is not bounded by the Witwatersrand, and that the industrial emancipation of the native people is an essential of the country's industrial development. Racial antagonism is fast disappearing; the native has found friends to second his fight against exploitation, and his industrial uplift will put a spur to progress and will do more than anything else to minimize white unemployment. The intelligent white workman will realize this and will accept the inevitable. It is only the incompetent who will howl. The color bar must go, but the employers cannot of themselves hasten its going. It will go because the native demand for its abolition will be backed by European public opinion.

Smuts's Last Effort

The conference arrived at a practical deadlock. No formal reply was made to the employers' proposals, printed above, and on January 26 they withdrew the offer. The men's representatives responded with a brief and unacceptable suggestion of arbitration and the withdrawal by the Chamber of its notices regarding changes in wages and working conditions. The first threat of bloodshed was made when Mr. Matthews, one of the labor representatives at the conference, declared that if the Chamber of Mines pursued its present policy and the men were defeated, such defeat would not be accomplished without bloodshed. Strikers began to drill and to form companies in several localities. The presence in their ranks of certain Dutch farmers of Nationalist persuasion offered the first suggestion of a struggle against the Government. On January 27, in a last effort to save the situation, General Smuts addressed a letter to the Chamber of Mines and to the Industrial Federation. We quote the important sections:

The strike conference which was called by the Government has broken down, and at present there does not appear to be any prospect of the dispute being settled by negotiation between the parties to it. In the meantime the mining industry is being brought to the verge of ruin. The trade depression throughout South Africa is being accentuated by a continuance of the stoppage of all mining and industrial activity, and great suffering is being inflicted on thousands of innocent people.

Before the occurrences which led to the present strike the Government had for some time been gravely anxious about the position of the low-grade mines and the threatened extinction of a large portion of the mining industry. In November last I met both sides to the present dispute at a conference called by the Government, and warned them of the urgent

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necessity, in view of the fall in the gold premium, for reorganizing the mining industry in order to save the low-grade mines. How urgent that necessity was appeared clearly from the report of the Low Grade Mines Commission, which was signed, among others, by the present secretary of the Federation of Trades, the present assistant secretary of the Mine Workers' Union, and the then secretary of the Mine Workers' Union. . . .

While pointing out the necessity of still further reducing the working costs as a matter which called for careful negotiation between the parties, I offered my services to both sides in the event of their not being able to arrive at a settlement. After certain negotiations and without further reference to me, the letter of the Chamber of Mines to the Federation of Trades on the 28th December was dispatched, and the ballot and the hurried declaration of a strike were the immediate answer of the Federation to that letter. My appeals for delay and for keeping the power stations going a little longer were not heeded, and a vast crisis was precipitated, which went to the length even of withdrawing pumpmen from the mines, some of which will now probably never open again. . . .

The only effects to date of the use of the strike weapon have been the endangering of the lives of certain low-grade mines owing to the flooding and the heavy costs of native wages; the loss of over 30,000 natives who have voluntarily returned to their homes; the postponement of the date of reemployment of a number of men far beyond the actual ending of the strike; the closing of many of the public services of the Rand; stagnation and loss to the whole trading community, and a great aftermath of unemployment and distress. The gains are nil.

The country has been flooded with a campaign of misstatement about the color bar, and numbers of public-spirited citizens have been worked up into a state of great anxiety to protect the color bar, which is essential on the basis of statutory regulations, and has never been either attacked or threatened in the present dispute. The color bar is as old as the mining industry in the Transvaal, and does not rest on the status-quo agreement, which was a private agreement between the Chamber and the Federation, concluded only three years ago.

The issue is not about the color bar, but how to save the low-grade mines, which means more than half the mining industry, from early extinction. . . .

With the decay in the gold industry, white employment is, in any case, going to contract. We are therefore presented with a choice between evils. Strikes and violence will not help us or save us in the choice, which depends on reasonableness and a spirit of compromise on both sides. There has, unfortunately, been no evidence of such a spirit in the conference which has just proved abortive, but the Government would once more, with all the force and earnestness at their command, appeal to both sides to approach the dispute in a spirit of give and take. . . .

(Signed) J. C. SMUTS

But no note of conciliation was apparent in the resolution adopted and published by the Federation.

That all strike committees be requested to inform all workers that, owing to the attitude of the employers' representatives, the strike conference has broken down. The augmented executive therefore instructs a stringent combing out of the scabs, a general tightening up of organization, and the perfecting of communication between the districts, and this executive's instructions will be forthcoming as soon as the executive committee has consulted with the joint executives of the unions. This executive committee recommends all unions to remove any penalties imposed on any of their members for militancy. . . .

NEW TERMS AND TALK OF REVOLUTION

One more move for a settlement was made before the strike slipped into its stage of violence and actual warfare with the forces of the Government. The Chamber of Mines issued a new formulation of terms for the gold field which we quote in part.

1. That the average ratio of Europeans to natives on producing gold mines, members of the Chamber, be fixed for a period of two years at not less than one European to 10.5 natives, this figure to be calculated over each calendar year, the industry being under a definite obligation to the Government that the ratio be adhered to within the limits of this ratio. The industry shall be entitled to make such rearrangement of its work as it thinks fit, including the right to dispense with employees whom it does not require, but subject always to the mining regulations and to existing agreements as to hours and basic wages.

2. That subject to the right to reorganize work provided under (1) above, men employed after the strike be taken on at December, 1921, daily rates of pay, plus one-half of the cost of living addition at January 1, 1922, this reduced addition to continue until June 30, 1922, and then to disappear entirely.

3. That May Day and Dingaan's Day be no longer paid holidays on the mines.

It is, of course, understood that the Chamber can give no guaranty to men on strike that they will be immediately employed at the conclusion of the strike, nor that every man taken on will be employed in his former capacity or working place, or even in the same mines. Through the effects of the strike on the scale of operations there will unfortunately for a time be more men available than can be placed, and managements will naturally select the best men. Underground men reengaged (other than mechanics and engine-drivers) will be taken on for general mining work and will be required to do whatever mining work is required of them by the managements. A considerable number of men will necessarily be out of employment owing to the curtailment of operations through the strike, but the Chamber hopes that with the satisfactory and settled state of affairs which should follow the alterations now proposed the industry will steadily recover, and many of those men would be reabsorbed.

A temporary reduction in the scope of European employment in the gold mines is unfortunately unavoidable if very much greater permanent reduction is not to take place, but the situation is not of the industry's making. It is brought about by pressure of economic circumstances, aggravated by the prolongation of the strike. The industry is prepared to join with other sections of the community in any reasonable attempt o mitigate the difficulties of that situation, and it is further prepared to increase substantially the number of apprentices on the mines (the number now employed is the maximum permitted by the unions) and so assist to an even greater extent than it does at present in equipping the youths of South Africa for the future.

This statement aroused much resentment among the strikers. The *Cape Times* for January 31 reported:

The Chamber's new proposals have been very badly received by the men, who say it is now war to the knife and no quarter. They strongly resent the proposed wage reduction and the abolition of May Day and Dingaan's Day as paid holidays.

Revolutionary threats were openly made. At a great mass meeting of strikers held in the Johannesburg Town Hall on January 29, Mr. Thompson, president of the Industrial Federation, was reported in the *Cape Times* as "having ridiculed the idea of a commission to attempt to retrieve a settlement of the strike."

He announced that the augmented executive and the joint executives of the unions had resolved that the strikers and all sympathizers should take the necessary steps to defeat the Government and substitute one calculated to protect the interests of white South Africa.

Resolutions were moved in the following terms:

1. That with this end in view a conference be arranged at once with representatives of the opposition parties in Parliament to investigate what immediate steps can be taken to

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remedy the present situation and that invitations be extended to all bodies which can and are desirous of assisting to come and offer their services for the foregoing object.

2. That all strike committees are instructed to take any necessary steps to prevent all scabs continuing work, and from now onwards they have full powers to do anything they desire to bring the present strike to a successful issue.

On February 2 the militant intentions of the strikers were admitted in a statement by the Federation Executive Committee indorsing the commando system. By February 4 the commandos, armed and officered, were drilling in several towns in the strike district.

"A South African Republic"

A mass meeting of several thousand strikers and sympathizers in the Johannesburg Town Hall on the fifth resulted in the adoption of the following resolution:

That this mass meeting of citizens is of opinion that the time has arrived when the domination of the Chamber of Mines and other financiers in South Africa should cease, and to that end we ask the members of Parliament assembled in Pretoria tomorrow to proclaim a South African Republic and immediately to form a provisional Government for this country.

Extremely incendiary speeches followed the adoption of the resolution and next day when the members of Parliament met, a deputation representing the mass meeting was received, and subsequently the following moderate resolution was adopted:

This meeting of members of Parliament, after having heard the deputation, who explained the attitude of the meeting which passed the resolution in favor of a South African Republic, have decided:

1. That it agrees with the public of the Rand that a change in the Government and in the system of government is necessary in the interests of South Africa.

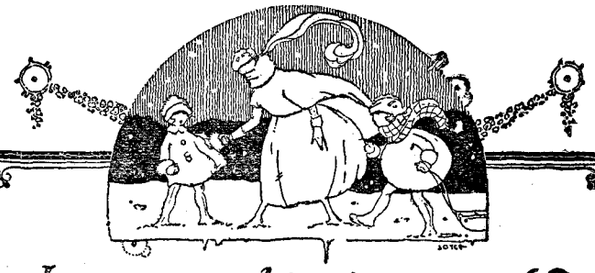
2. That such a change of system can only be reached by obtaining a majority of the people in favor thereof, such majority to be reflected in Parliament.

3. That it consequently declares itself against the proposed revolutionary movement and strongly advises the people to maintain order and to act constitutionally for the attainment of the desired objects.

4. That this meeting will support the workers to attain their rights and for this purpose will consider ways and means to secure a satisfactory solution of the present industrial crisis.

Meanwhile General Smuts on February 4 made an appeal to the workers, begging them to return immediately to the mines and promising a consideration of their grievances through an impartial commission. The strikers agreed, subject to the important provision that the resumption of operations should be made "on the pre-strike conditions." They also suggested that a permanent board be appointed "to cooperate with Parliament for the purpose of advising on all matters concerning the industrial life . . . of the country."

No agreement could be arrived at on such a basis, and from that date on symptoms of violence developed rapidly. The settlement finally reached, after weeks of bloodshed and terrorism on both sides, apparently follows the lines of General Smuts's suggestion of February 4. The men have returned, their strike broken and 6,000 of the active participants in the struggle captured, on the very terms proposed originally by the Chamber of Mines. Their only gain is probability of future adjustment through a government commission. Dissatisfaction will certainly remain, for the problems involved in the struggle are very nearly insoluble. It cannot be hoped that the labor troubles in the greatest mine field in the world are over.



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